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ALEXANDER RAMSEY AT THE TREATY OF TRAVERSE DES SIOUX, 1851.

(From an old painting.)

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MEMOIRS

OF

EXPLORATIONS IN THE BASIN OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

VOLUME VI.

MINNESOTA.

DISCOVERY OF ITS AREA.

1540-1665.

BY

J. V. BROWER,

AUTHOR OF *Kakabikansing*, ETC., ETC.

CONTRIBUTIONS BY

DR. W. M. SWENEY, HENRY COLIN CAMPBELL, BENJAMIN SULTE AND WARREN UPHAM.

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, U. S. A.

1903.

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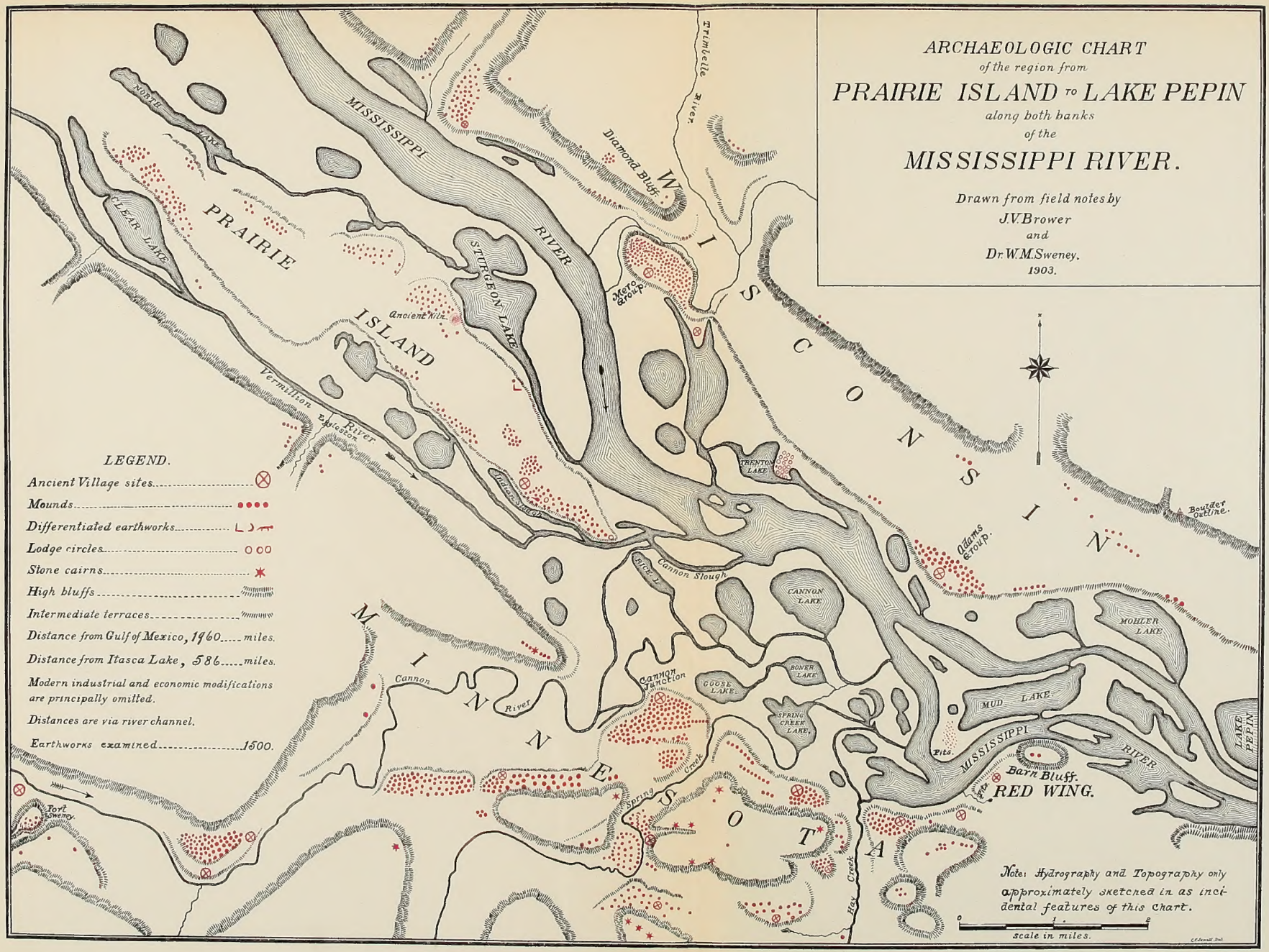
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA.


ARCHAEOLOGIC CHART
of the region from
PRAIRIE ISLAND to LAKE PEPIN
along both banks
of the
MISSISSIPPI RIVER.
Drawn from field notes by
J.V.Brower
and
Dr.W.M.Sweney.
1903.
LEGEND.
Ancient Village sites
Mounds
Differentiated earthworks
Lodge circles
Stone cairns
High bluffs
Intermediate terraces
Distance from Gulf of Mexico, 1960 miles.
Distance from Itasca Lake, 586 miles.
Modern industrial and economic modifications are principally omitted.
Distances are via river channel.
Earthworks examined 1500.
Note: Hydrography and Topography only approximately sketched in as incidental features of this Chart.
scale in miles.
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
PRAIRIE ISLAND
NORTH LAKE
CLEAR LAKE
STURGEON LAKE
Ancient Vill.
Mero Group.
Diamond Bluff
Trimbelle River
WISCONSIN
Vermillion River
Chicago Slough
Cannon Slough
TRENTON LAKE
Adams Group.
Boulder Outline.
CANNON LAKE
MOHLER LAKE
BOWER LAKE
GOOSE LAKE
SPRING CREEK LAKE
MUD LAKE
LAKE PEPIN
Pits.
Barn Bluff.
RED WING.
Cannon Junction
Cannon River
MINNESOTA
Spring Creek
Hay Creek
Fort Sweney

Benjamin Sulte

BENJAMIN SULTE.

THE portrait which constitutes Plate II. of this *Memoir* was solicited from the donor for preservation because he is a contributor to Minnesota history. His most voluminous articles have been published at St. Paul and Minneapolis in the French language in *Le Canadienne* and *Echo de l'Ouest*. The pages of this volume contain a valuable contribution from his pen, which in several particulars describes heretofore unmentioned or unknown occurrences materially affecting the earliest history of the Northwest.

Mr. Sulte was born at Three Rivers, Lower Canada, September 17, 1841, as a descendant from a French family settled there in 1640. For many years he has been Acting Deputy Minister of Militia and Defense for the Dominion of Canada. He has applied for voluntary superannuation and retirement, and hopes to be relieved from active duty in 1903, when all his time will be devoted to the preparation of papers on historical subjects connected with the earliest history of the Western Hemisphere. He is the author of *Histoire des Canadienne Francais*, *Histoire de la Milice Canadienne* and many other volumes and pamphlets. He is a painstaking student of *Radisson's Voyages*, which he endeavors to interpret from the standpoint of long continued personal study of the earliest events connected with the history of New France and Canada. That intellectual pursuit necessarily conducts a scholarly writer not only to our borders but across the area of Minnesota, which he has personally visited. We have his historical productions to deal with, and it is paramount that if he is enabled to produce facts directly connected with our earliest history which have heretofore escaped notice and attention, he should be made a member of the Minnesota Historical Society and be invited to continue his work relating to the Northwest, so that with dignified respect the people of Minnesota may have an opportunity to deliberate concerning important historical events in our history as contemplated from an impartial French standpoint.

By co-operation and condescention the entire field of research should be exhausted before some one particular opinion or view shall erroneously be adopted and predominate. French histories are a necessity to our literature as a state.

FIRST EDITION.

THREE HUNDRED NUMBERED AUTOGRAPH COPIES

NUMBER 203

To the Honorable, The Council of the
Minnesota Historical Society.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I respectfully submit the results of another year's study concerning the original discovery of the area of Minnesota.

No one regrets more than myself that this complicated question still remains in an unsettled and unfinished condition, owing to the uncertainty of the present whereabouts of the public and private papers of Governor Jean de Lauzon and other important documents of which we have little knowledge. There are many documents in Canada, England and France which bear an important relation to the discovery of Minnesota.

No private opinion should be permitted to seriously influence the earliest history of our commonwealth until all those documents are examined, copied and published.

I am now firmly of the opinion that Radisson and Chouart were not the first white men to explore the area of our state, but the proofs are enveloped in uncertainty, which makes them unacceptable until such time as further inquiry shall dispel all doubt.

Very respectfully,

INTRODUCTION.

AT the date when *Kakabikansing*, Volume V. of this series of *Memoirs*, with its intricate questions was published, arrangements had been completed to explore the Prairie Island Region above the head of Lake Pepin on the Mississippi, expecting that an earlier suggestion, made first by Mr. Henry Colin Campbell and afterward elaborated by Mr. Warren Upham, that the original discovery of the area of Minnesota was made by Radisson and Medard Chouart at that locality, about 1655, would be confirmed by archæologic facts.

No such confirmation can now be definitely announced.

An attempt has been energetically made since the first of June, 1902, to obtain definite proofs of such asserted discovery from a comparison of all historic data available. In that work I received aid from the two students mentioned and many valuable suggestions from Mr. Benjamin Sulte, each of whom has given much attention to this intricate historical question.

At the very beginning of this important century for the Historical Society, I am unwilling to record a declaration that the area of Minnesota was originally discovered in 1655 at Prairie Island.

There does not appear to be one single sentence or word in all history which can be at this time accepted as definite or substantial proof, or even as probable evidence, that Radisson or Chouart ever saw Prairie Island.

They certainly did visit the Isanti bands of Dakota Indians at or near Mille Lac. Radisson perpetuated a definite and acceptable record of that event, which has been published by the Prince Society. All other statements made by Radisson, interpreted by various writers as applying to the original discovery of Minnesota, are without substantial confirmatory proofs, and therefore not definitely acceptable as history.

This Historical Society has a great and responsible duty to perform for the people of Minnesota, especially for the 415,000 teachers, students and pupils in our institutions of learning. It is with a deep sense of the magnitude of such duty that I beg that the Council of the Society may direct a further investigation into the facts concerning the earliest history of Minnesota before the attempt to perpetuate a personal opinion as permanent history shall have been erroneously confirmed and ratified.

ST. PAUL, March 9, 1903. J. V. B.

HENRY COLIN CAMPBELL.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Historian of early Northwestern Discoveries and conservative student of *Radisson's Narratives.*

PERSONAL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

I OWE a debt of gratitude to Dr. William M. Sweney, Prof. Edward W. Schmidt and Mr. Wilmer W. Hill, all of Red Wing, Minnesota, for their generous co-operation and careful assistance during the time when our united efforts were extended toward archaeologic examinations of the Prairie Island and Lake Pepin Region. The results were somewhat different than anticipation had led us to believe could be obtained, nevertheless the proofs which were secured that there was an ancient Indian war at Cannon Valley made a very interesting series of daily studies for a considerable length of time; valuable, because the results amply confirm legendary information relating to the dispersion of the Iowa tribes from the area of Minnesota by the Dakota bands.

To Mr. Benjamin Sulte, of Ottawa, Canada, there is due acknowledgment for many courteous and valuable communications relating to his studies and published articles, which bear directly upon the earliest history of Minnesota. The results of his labor have not been reviewed for this *Memoir*, because there has not been ample opportunity for careful and deliberate consideration of the numerous items of information he has formulated from the scattered and decaying records of the past. He is an accomplished student of the French language who has been in daily contact for many years with documentary evidences which are perpetuated at the capital city of the Dominion government, coupled with a distinctly unprejudiced course of studies so far as directly affects Minnesota history. That fact can best be utilized by a friendly and considerate reception of his writings which have been published in Minnesota rather than by ungenerous designs or any attempt at dishonorable supercedure. We have gained information from the Sulte papers heretofore unmentioned in our history as a territorial subdivision. That information differs somewat from the admirable papers written by Mr. Henry Colin Campbell. The earliest historical records of our commonwealth are therefore in a complete state of suspension, awaiting a deliberative disentanglement of the confusion into which they have been unnecessarily precipitated.

I am gratified to acknowledge the assistance which Mr. William S. MacEwen has faithfully rendered in composing the forms of this *Memoir*.

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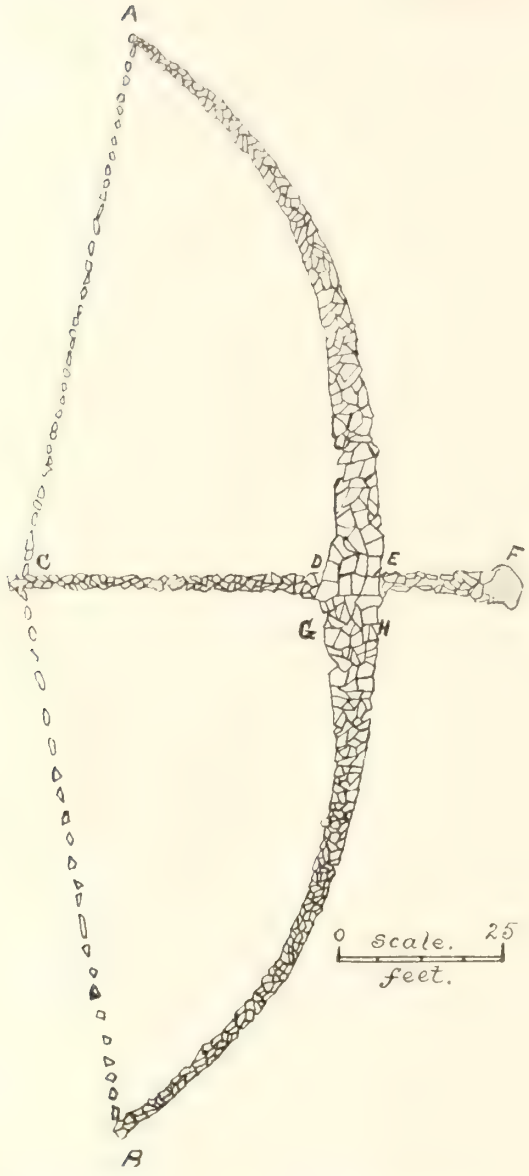
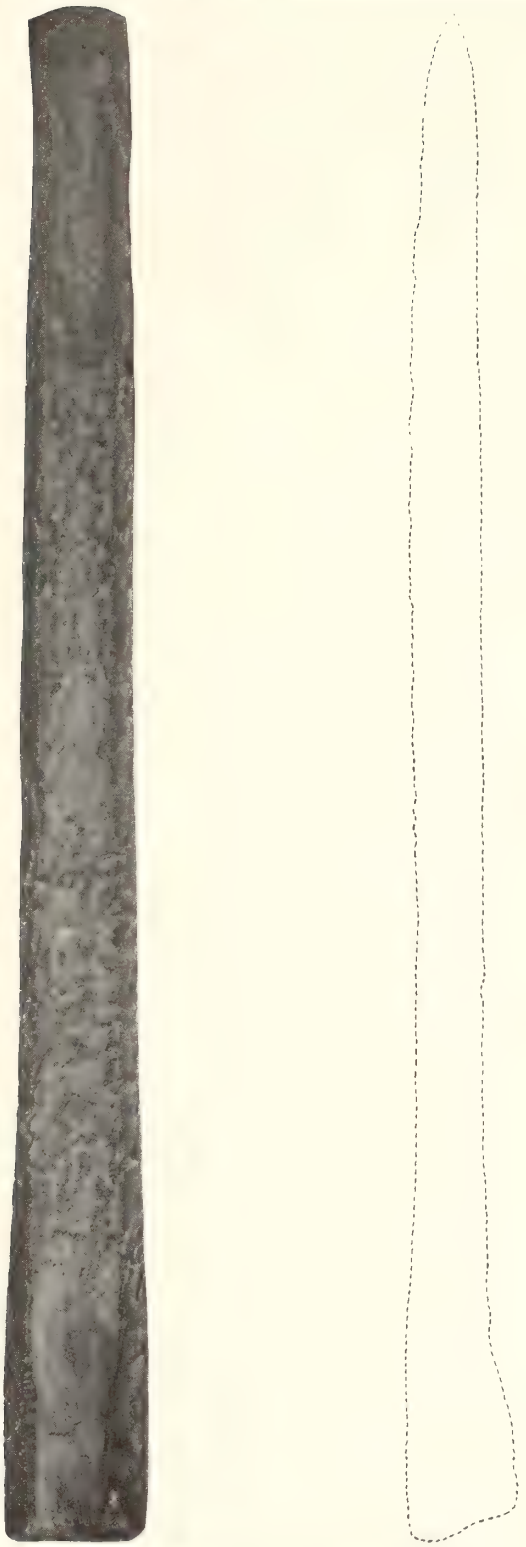


BOULDER OUTLINE (RESTORED).

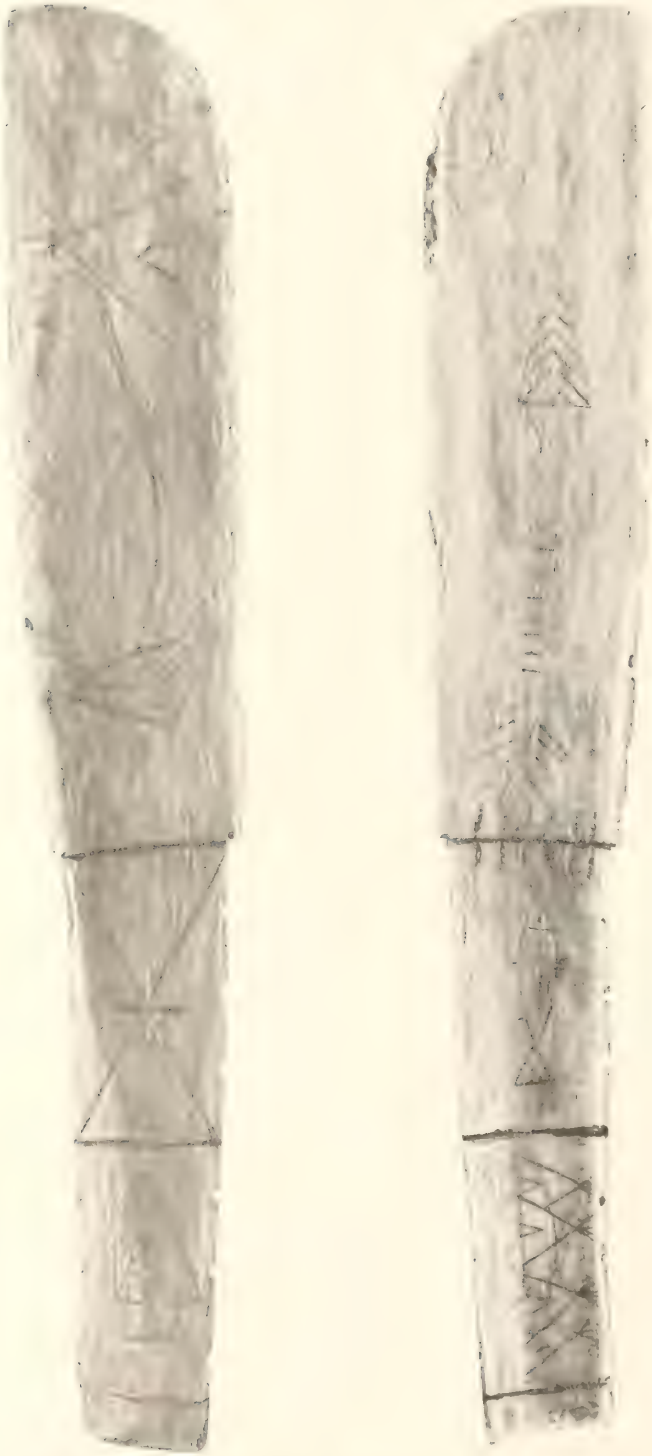
Surveyed by W. W. Hill, 1902.

DISTANCES: A to B, along bow, 185 feet. C to D, 45 feet. E to F, 18 feet. G to H, 8 feet.

This unique boulder outline is situated on the slope of a bluff, near Hager, Wisconsin, Section 36, Township 25, Range 18. Some of the stones representing the bowstring are displaced. The intention seems to have been to represent a bow and arrow partly drawn to shoot toward Lake Pepin. Many of the limestones of which the outline is made weigh about 100 pounds. The entire form of this boulder outline can be observed by the unaided eye from Barn Bluff on the Minnesota side of the Mississippi during clear weather. Prof. Edward W. Schmidt was associated with Mr. Hill when the explorations were conducted.



COPPER SPUD. $\frac{1}{2}$.
(Prairie Island Region.)
Collection of Wilmer W. Hill.



DECORATED RIB KNIFE FROM LAKE PEPIN. ½.

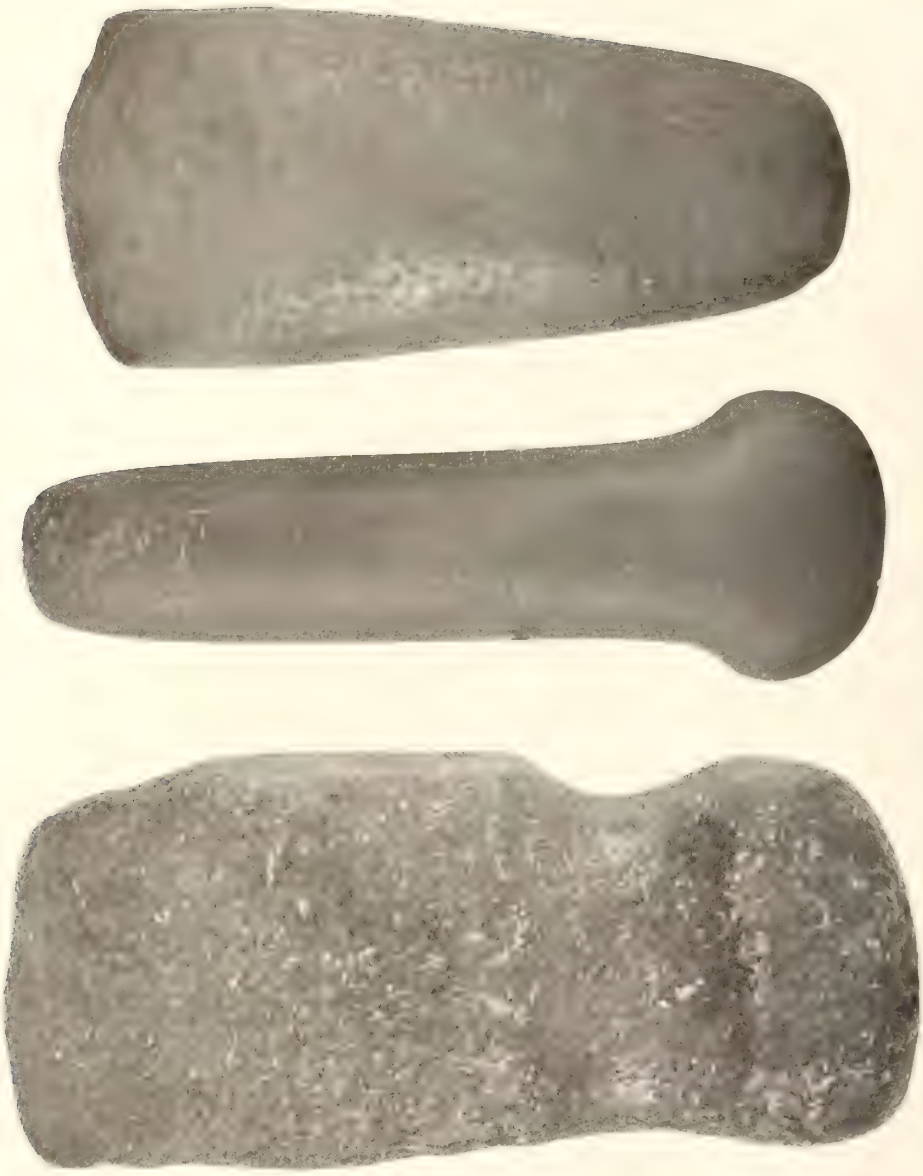
Obverse and Reverse.

Collection of Wilmer W. Hill.

PRAIRIE ISLAND NET SINKER. ½.

LAKE PEPIN DISCOIDAL OBJECT. ½.

The sinkers, made by grooving flat cobbles, are very numerous at and near Lake Pepin. The discoids have been frequently found there.



GROUND GREENSTONE CELT. ¼.

POLISHED SLATE CANOE TOOL. ¼.

GROOVED GRANITE HATCHET. ¼

(Goodhue County, Minnesota.)

Characteristic objects of Siouan origin in the Prairie Island Region

PERFORATED BRONZE COAT OF ARMS, A. D. 1446. ½.

Recovered on an old Indian trail by Mr. Howard W. Crosby, near Hastings, Minnesota. Other exactly similar casts have been found associated with Indian artifacts. Mr. Crosby's discovery indicates quite certainly that early tribes along the Mississippi were in possession of knowledge of the form of elephants, from which pipes and mounds could have been made in imitation. The heated controversy over elephant pipes in Davenport, Iowa, could be mutually adjusted by Mr. Crosby and his elephant medal. (See *Proceedings of Davenport Academy of Sciences*, 1882, pages 225–333, and *Second Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, 1883, pages 152–57.)

MINNESOTA GREENSTONE GOUGE.

Found near Red Wing, Minnesota.

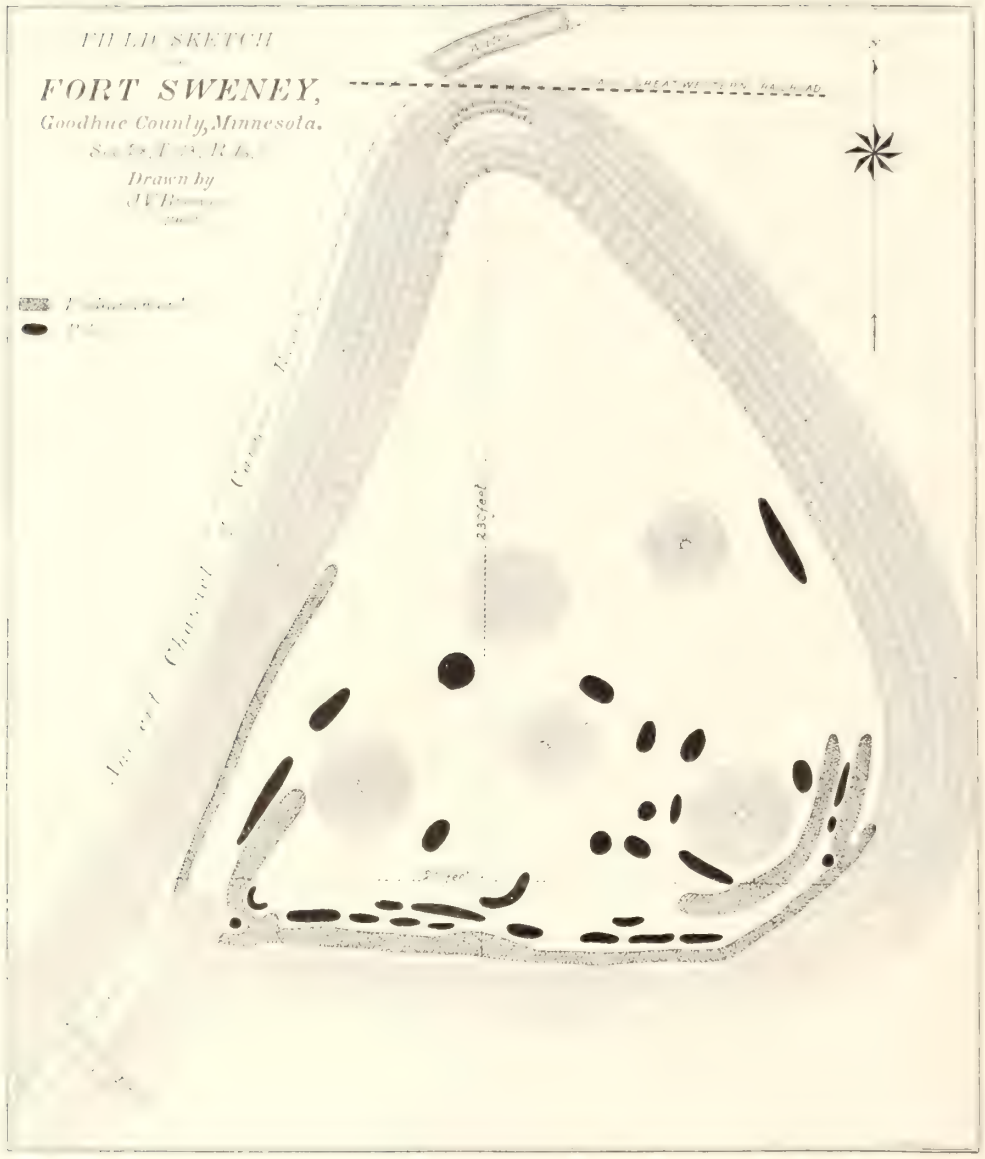
Probably used to remove burned wood and cinders from log canoes while under process of construction.

MINNESOTA INDIAN MILLSTONES. $\frac{1}{4}$.

(Recovered near Red Wing, Minnesota.)

The stationary portion is limestone and the grinder is an ordinary cobble flattened on one side and gouged to insert thumb while in use.

Other similar specimens found were made of granite.

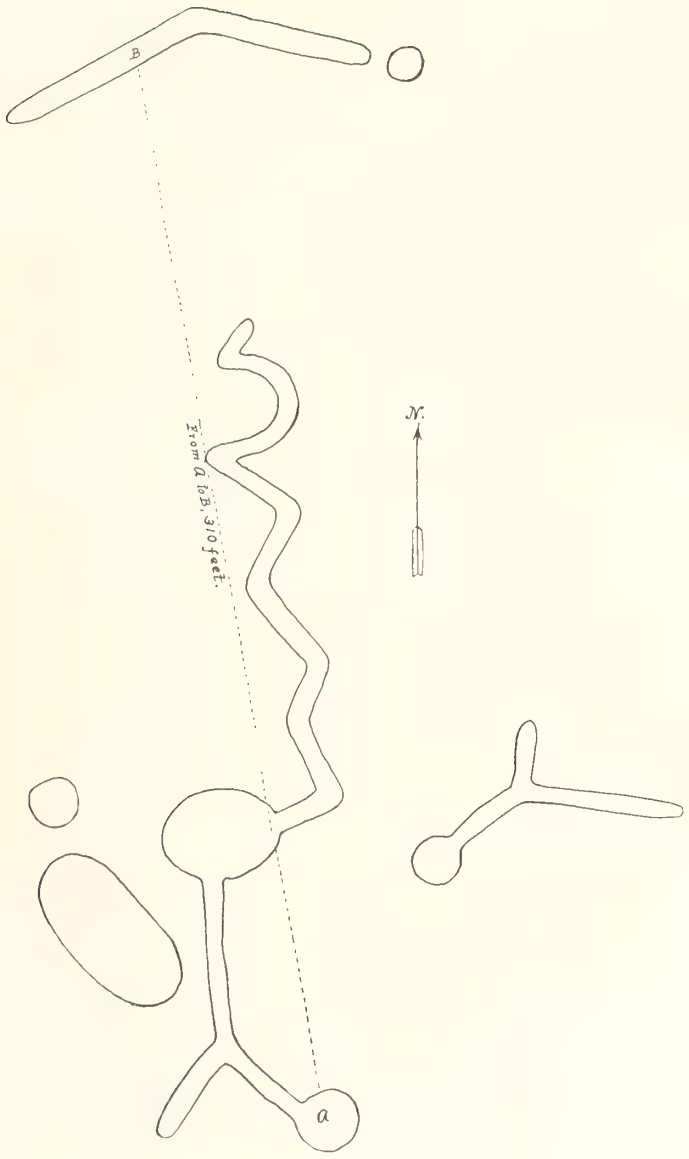


FORT SWENEY.

(Goodhue County, Minnesota.)

Discovered and named by Professor Edward W. Schmidt.

The inclosure appears to have been one of the results of the Dakota-Iowa Indian war



PECULIAR EARTHWORKS.

Surveyed by Dr. W. M. Sweney, 1902.

The location of these apparently defensive embankments is on a terrace near a mound group and village site about three miles from Red Wing, Minnesota.

ANTHROPIC GEOLOGY ILLUSTRATED. ½.

An ordinary Minnesota cobble grooved into form for a convenient and effective cobblehead

The illustrated object was recovered at Red Wing, Minnesota.

Thousands of pebbles, cobbles and boulders were anciently used in Minnesota for axes, hatchets, hammers, sinkers and other implements.

MINNESOTA.

DISCOVERY OF ITS AREA.

§ 1. GEOLOGICAL FORMATION.

NATURAL FEATURES OF GREAT MAGNITUDE AND DIVERGENCE EXCEEDING IN ATTRACTIVENESS TO PRIMITIVE MAN ANY REGION OF SIMILAR EXTENT IN THE MISSISSIPPI BASIN.

Minnesota is an Indian name, commonly reputed to be a corruption of Minisotah (Nicollet), Minnay Sotor (Featherstonhaugh), Minisota (Riggs). The expression in the Dakota language is difficult to pronounce correctly in English, but the best authorities have adopted "*Sky-tinted-water*" as the most accurate solution. There is also a question whether the name applies to the color and appearance of the water in Minnesota River or a certain lake, or both.

The area of Minnesota (84,286 square miles) was, when discovered, about equally divided, irregularly, between prairie and timbered localities, the head branches of the Mississippi draining a region densely wooded with pine, cedar, fir, spruce, oak, maple, birch and aspen, the southern and western portion being a vast prairie. As a small part of the area of Minnesota remains unsurveyed, no one has as yet been enabled to ascertain how many lakes and lakelets there are in the state, often computed at about 10,000, but probably the number will considerably exceed the estimated computation. It has been recently

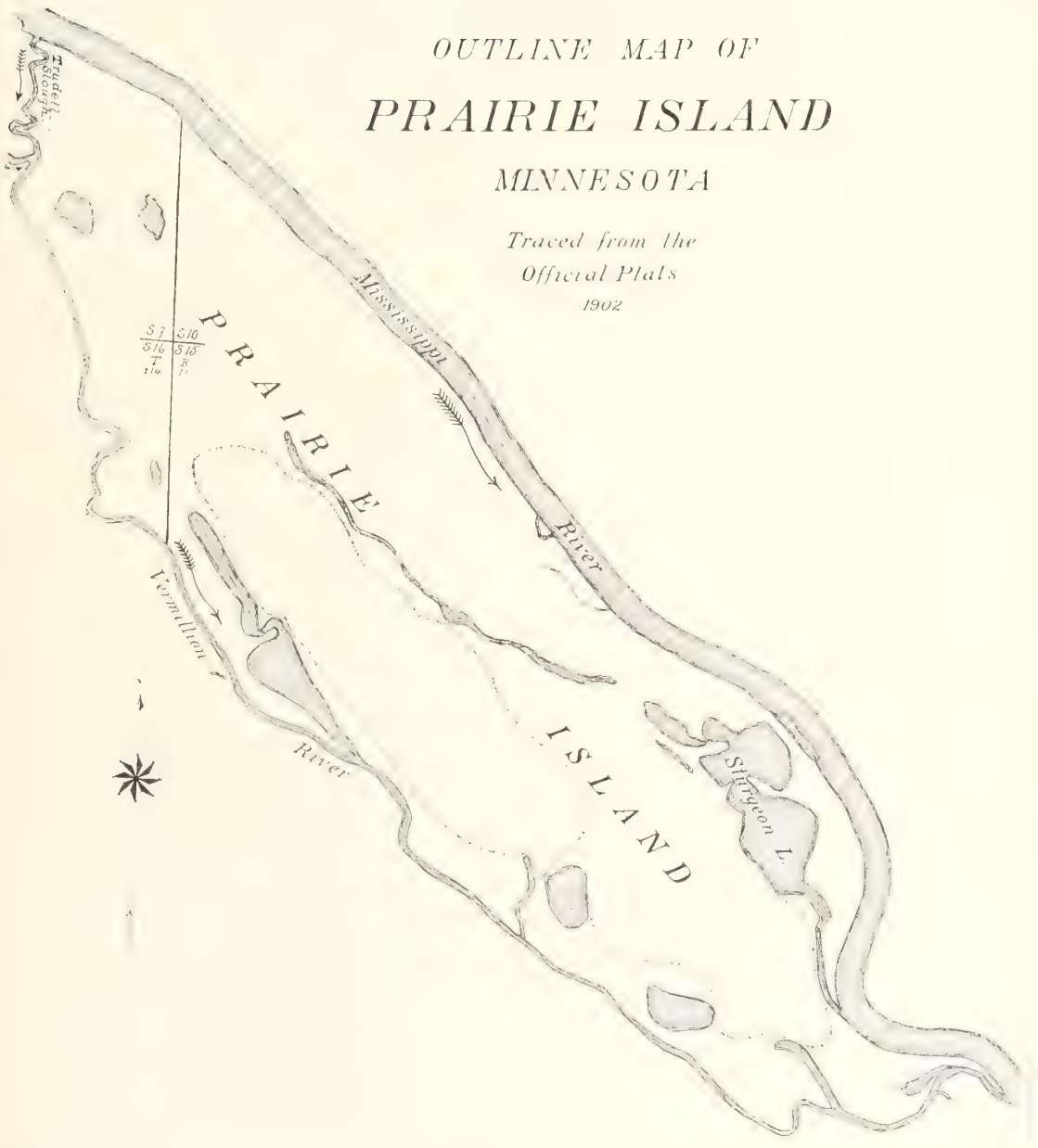
ascertained that there are about 100 bodies of water within the limits of Itasca State Park, slightly less than thirty-five square miles.

Professor N. H. Winchell has adequately determined the geology of Minnesota, showing its area to be quite generally drift-covered from the effects of glaciation, causing the presence of till and modified drift above the bed rocks, into the materials of which innumerable boulders, cobbles and pebbles variously enter, forming a vast supply of rock for the use of ancient tribes. From the published results of Winchell's geologic labors the following interesting summary by Mr. Warren Upham has been principally drawn:

GEOLOGY OF PRAIRIE ISLAND.

The modified drift forming Isle Pelée, or Prairie Island, belongs to the closing part of the Ice age. This large island is merely a remnant of the formerly very extensive and deep gravel and sand beds that were swept into the Mississippi Valley from the drift-laden surface of the waning ice-sheet during its final melting. Its material was deposited as a part of a wide floodplain, filling the valley from side to side and gradually built up to the level of the gravel and sand terraces, 100 feet or more above the river, which are conspicuously seen in many places along the lower part of the inclosing bluffs. From the melting ice and attendant rains, the river was doubtless maintained in a flood stage throughout the summer of each year while the ice-sheet was disappearing from the country northward to the headwaters of the Mississippi. Moreover, this condition of prolonged summer floods prevailed for a considerable time later, until the glacial Lake Agassiz in the basin of the Red River of the North and of Lake Winnipeg ceased to outflow along the Minnesota Valley to the Mississippi, pouring down thus past Prairie Island the waters of the ice melting from a vast area reaching far north into British America and west in the Saskatchewan basin to the Rocky Mountains.

So long as the receding ice borders were near, or probably within fifty to 100 miles, the floods brought much modified drift, building up the floodplain to the depth or thickness shown by the terraces. Afterward, the amount of the gravel and sand or even fine silt borne into this part of the valley decreased, and soon it was less than the amount removed here by the stream erosion. The valley was then reexcavated into its Late Glacial floodplain to a depth much below the present stream level, because the capacity of the river for erosion was much greater while it received the outflow of Lake Agassiz than it has been at any subsequent



Goodhue and Dakota counties, Minnesota, divide the area of Prairie Island on the perpendicular black line. Pierce County, Wisconsin, adjoins the opposite bank of the Mississippi east of Sturgeon Lake. No certain acceptable and indisputable evidence has been discovered establishing Prairie Island as the site of Radisson's and Medard Chouart's rendezvous in 1654–55. Prairie Island is about ten miles in length.

time. A deep well in the Minnesota valley at Belle Plaine passed through alluvial beds of the more recent second filling of the valley to a depth of about 150 feet beneath the river there. In the Mississippi Valley the erosion contemporaneous with the southern outflow of Lake Agassiz extended to some undetermined depth, which is known, however, to have reached lower than the deepest sounding in Lake Pepin, about sixty feet near its southern end.

After the discharge of the ancient glacial lake along this valley ceased, its inflowing streams generally brought more alluvium than the main river could carry onward. Parts of the main valley and of its large tributaries therefore contain lakes dammed by sediments of exceptional volume from streams next below the lakes. Featherstonhaugh, in 1835, and Warren, in 1878, thus correctly attributed the existence of Lake Pepin to the dam of gravel and sand brought into the Mississippi Valley by its affluent, the Chippewa River. Lake St. Croix, through which the St. Croix River flows between Stillwater and its mouth, having a maximum depth of twenty-five feet at the lowest stage of water, is similarly dammed by the recent sediments of the Mississippi, which here have surpassed those of its tributary; and Lac qui Parle, on the Minnesota River, is another lake of the same class.

Prairie Island is made of modified drift, and belongs to the latest stage of glaciation in the northern United States, named the Wisconsin stage. Its deposition took place, according to Prof. N. H. Winchell's estimate or computation of the duration of the Postglacial period from the rate of recession of the Falls of St. Anthony, about 7,000 to 8,000 or 9,000 years ago. The floodplain originally extended across the valley, and its surface was many feet above the top of this island, which, however, was sculptured into nearly its present form soon afterward, that is, during the 1,000 years, more or less, which Upham has shown to be the measure of the duration of Lake Agassiz. When that old lake attained northeastern outlets to the great Laurentian lakes and later to Hudson Bay, the Mississippi River here shrank to its present size; the valley began to be refilled by sediments; Lake Pepin was formed; and the great river gradually acquired its present condition, being uplifted upon its Postglacial deposits in the vicinity of Prairie Island not less than sixty feet.

Standing on the highest part of this island, about fifty feet above the ordinary level of the river, we have a most beautiful outlook up and down the valley, which here is fully three miles wide. On each side, the valley is bounded by steep, wooded bluffs that rise to the general height of about 300 feet above the river and island. The bluffs, and the country stretching far away from their tops at nearly the same height, consist, beneath the drift, of almost horizontally bedded rocks, thick alternating formations of white or gray sandstone and yellowish magnesian limestone, known by their fossils to be marine deposits of the Cambrian period in the early part of the Paleozoic era. For detailed descriptions of these formations, the reader is referred to the elaborate chapters on Goodhue

and Dakota counties written by Prof. N. H. Winchell in the second volume of his final report as the State Geologist of Minnesota; and to the report by Moses Strong on the adjoining country east of the Mississippi, published in the fourth volume of the Geology of Wisconsin, under the direction of Prof. T. C. Chamberlin, the State Geologist.

It is sufficient to note that after this area had been a seabed throughout the greater part of Paleozoic time, it was uplifted to be a land surface during the later Paleozoic periods and during nearly all of the ensuing Mesozoic era. Rivers then coursed over this region, but we cannot confidently assert that the Mississippi basin and watercourse were recognizable in the continental topography of those very ancient geologic ages.

In the later part of the Cretaceous period, the last of Mesozoic time, nearly or quite all of Minnesota was again depressed beneath the sea, as was many years ago made known by Winchell, the eastern shore of a great Cretaceous sea or ocean being probably for some time near the eastern boundaries of this state. With the uplift of the western plains from this submergence, the Cenozoic or Tertiary era began. Throughout this long era all our region of the Upper Mississippi was again a continental land, as also during the much shorter Quaternary era that came next, including the Ice age. From the beginning of Tertiary time to the present Psychozoic period, as we may fittingly name this continuation of Quaternary time, dignified by the dominion of man, the Mississippi has probably existed continuously as a great avenue of drainage, though passing through many changes.

At the end of the Ice age the upper part of the Mississippi, above the mouth of the Minnesota River, assumed a new course, determined by the deposition of the glacial and modified drift. From Lake Itasca to Fort Snelling it has no rock bluffs, no valley cut deep and wide in the old bedrocks, such as we see occupied by the Minnesota River near its junction with the Mississippi and along the course of the great river thence southward. The valley at St. Paul, at Gray Cloud and Prairie islands, and at Lake Pepin, is of Tertiary and preglacial erosion, having had surely many thousand years, if not indeed perhaps a few million years, for its channeling. It is therefore strongly contrasted with the narrow gorge, extending about eight miles from Fort Snelling to the Falls of St. Anthony at Minneapolis, which the river has cut in the limestone and sandstone by the recession of these falls since that area was uncovered by the final melting of the ice-sheet. The gorge is known by Winchell's computation before cited to have required only about 7,000 or 8,000 years for its erosion; but the great valley below St. Paul represents all of the Quaternary era, and a part, at least, of the Tertiary.

We need not go further, in this outline of the geologic history of the country embraced in this *Memoir*, to trace in detail the probable vicissitudes of the Upper Mississippi during the great movement of continental uplift which ushered in the Ice age, causing its cold climate and abundant

snowfall. Before that general and high elevation of the vast regions of North America and Europe which became ice-enveloped, this part of the Mississippi may not improbably have flowed to the north, passing through the present Red River Valley to Hudson Bay. The extensive area of the great lakes tributary to the St. Lawrence, then having free drainage by river courses without lakes, appears to have been drained west and southwest to the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico; and a watershed crossing Northeastern Iowa and Southwestern Wisconsin, as suggested by Hershey, may have divided that immense river sytem from the waters of our Upper Mississippi region, then flowing northward.

If this is a true view of the Late Tertiary course of drainage here, for which there is much evidence, the great valley at Lake Pepin and at Prairie and Gray Cloud islands began to be channeled by a stream that became reversed, as to the direction of its flow, during the early Quaternary uplift of our continent. Enough is known of those early times, long preceding the formation of Prairie Island, to indicate for young geologists many very interesting questions to be studied in this Upper Mississippi basin, concerning the Ice age, the conditions which led to it, and the changes of the land surface and of watercourses resulting from it.

Anthropic geology is principally centred in a great abundance of quartz, slate, gunflint, sandstone, quartzite, copper, pipestone, granite, greenstone, chert, and other various materials from which was drawn a ready and liberal supply for the general use of the native occupants previous to the advent of the French and English. At Prairie Island and adjacent localities there were found many specimens of native chert nodules and Potsdam quartz boulders from which thousands of chipped implements were anciently made and used. Throughout the extent of the entire state such objects have been similarly observed, associated with many white quartz, greenstone, slate and gunflint artifacts.

A collection of Minnesota chipped flint and stone implements, in comparison with any similar number of artifacts from localities farther south or east, presents a very striking and different appearance, owing to the fact that boulder spalls of various colors and textures were extensively used by the Dakota bands for chipped implements.

§ 2. EXPLORATIONS.

VARIOUS EXAMINATIONS ALONG THE MISSISSIPPI FROM ITASCA LAKE TO ZUMBRO RIVER, AND AT ADJACENT LOCALITIES KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN OCCUPIED BY NATIVE TRIBES.

To adequately interpret and comprehensively understand the *Voyages* which Pierre Esprit Radisson perpetuated, it is imperative that a complete knowledge of the movements of the people he described should become known, so that the opportunity for error may be avoided as far as possible.

His book, written in 1665 and first printed in 1885 after a lapse of 220 years, has changed the entire scope and character of the earliest inception of recorded history relating to the original discovery of the area of Minnesota. It is therefore important that all error be eliminated that only such results as can positively be shown to be true shall enter into our records as permanent and accepted history.

The earliest distribution of native tribes within the area of Minnesota places the Iowa people along the Mississippi about Lake Pepin and elsewhere in Southern Minnesota, the Dakotas at the west end of Lake Superior and at all the head branches of the Mississippi, with three great routes of travel connecting the two distinct regions, the Cheyennes about Big Stone Lake, and the Crees in the Rainy River region. Other smaller bands are known to have existed for short periods of time at various places within the limits of the present area of Minnesota, one of which was undoubtedly a renegade band of Huron refugees of limited numbers, which, according to Perrot, were domiciled on Prairie Island a short time, about 1655, perhaps thirty years before the Dakota people informed Perrot of the fact.

As the Dakota nation was certainly visited and described by Radisson in the winter of 1659–60, at the Kathio settlements, his unique and first book ever written concerning Minnesota, which has become

the very foundation basis of our history as a state, can be best understood by carefully tracing the tribes he mentioned and visited within our borders.

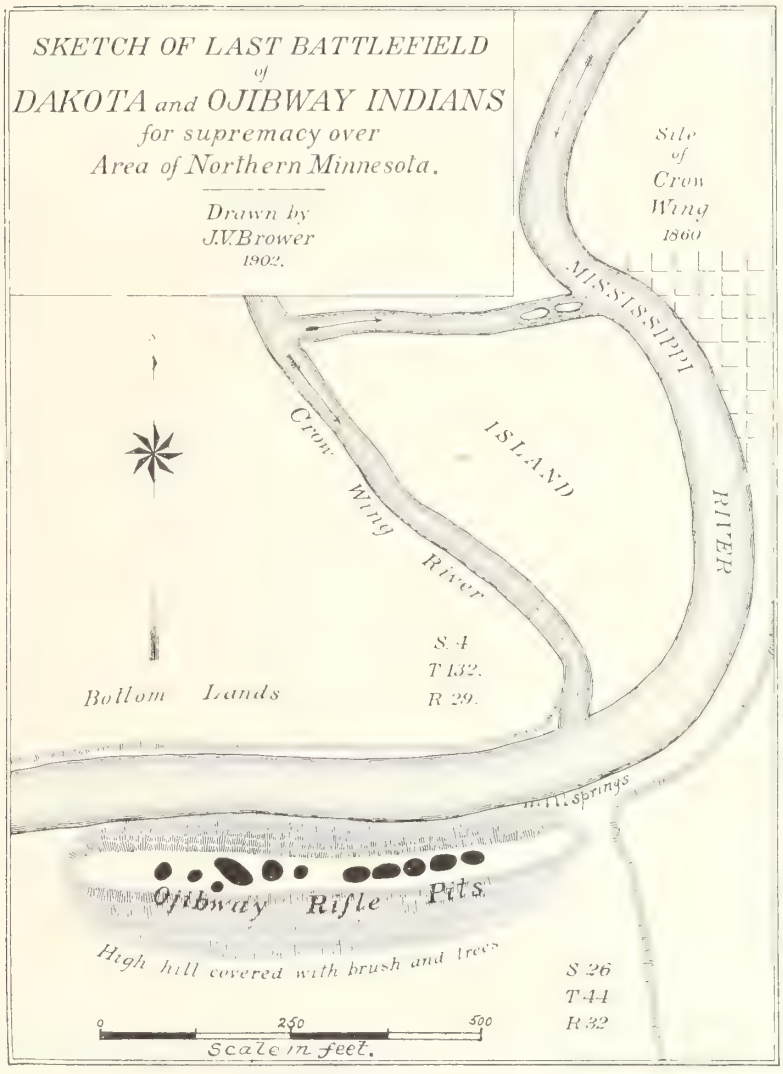
Various results of archæologic explorations have simplified all history, making it possible to reject thousands of inexcusable errors and to confirm ascertained facts. Quite unexpectedly such explorations, carefully and unselfishly conducted, now enter into the question of the earliest discovery of the area of Minnesota.

From Itasca Lake to the mouth of Zumbro River below Lake Pepin both banks of the Mississippi have been archæologically explored. Adjoining regions have also been subjected to careful examinations, the results of which have been published in *Mille Lac*, 1900, and *Kathio*, 1901.

When the region about Prairie Island and Red Wing was selected for examination in 1902 the only purpose and object in view created a desire to more fully understand some of the uncertain points in recorded history, particularly Radisson's discovery of the area of Minnesota.

A condensed narrative description of the 1902 explorations at Prairie Island and neighboring localities is here attempted.

There is a very old ancient Indian trail between Lake Superior and Mille Lac, overland in character. Its use by Dakota Indians, and afterwards by the Ojibways, and then the fur traders of Crow Wing, seems to quite certainly fix it as a permanent winter trail of long continued use previous to 1850. It is now in decay. That ancient thoroughfare extended from the site of Old Superior to the present location of Malmo at the northeast extremity of Mille Lac. Radisson may have been on this trail when he first set eyes on the area of Minnesota, as it was certainly the Dakota Indian winter route of travel between Lake Superior and Kathio at the time he and Chouart first visited the Sioux villagers west of St. Croix River. The Ojibway war party which prevailed at the battle of Kathio undoubtedly followed that trail from the then Ojibway habitats at Lake Superior to the Sioux settlements at Kathio. That battle, about 1750, cost the Dakota people nearly one-half of their hereditary possessions in Minnesota. Hon. W.

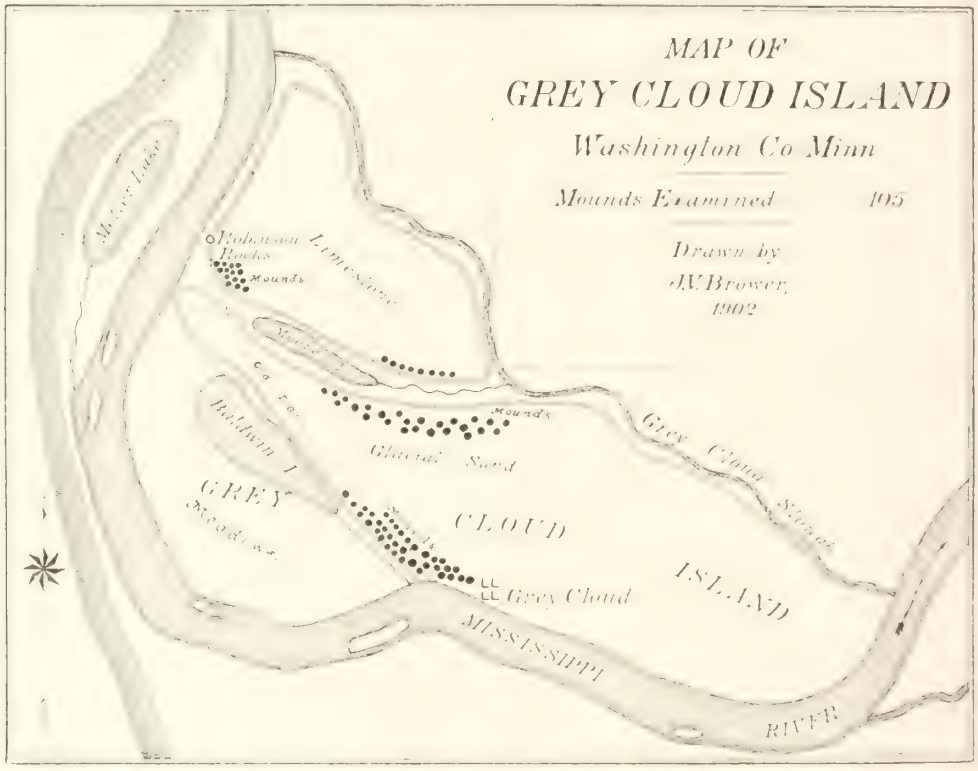


BATTLE OF CROW WING.

The Ojibway warriors were secretly entrenched at their rifle pits. The Dakota war party on the way down the Mississippi landed opposite upper mouth of Crow Wing River. Re-embarking in their canoes they rounded the bend, passed lower mouth of Crow Wing River, and were savagely slaughtered by the Ojibways. The remnant of their forces escaped down the river, finally evacuating the area of Northern Minnesota.

W. Warren, describing the attempt of the defeated Dakotas to regain their possessions, gives a vivid description of the battle of Crow Wing at pages 227–232, Volume V., Minnesota Historical Collections. I charted that battlefield in 1902 and found Warren's account of it correct.

The ancient Dakotas who occupied Sauk Valley had a canoe landing and camping ground on the narrow piece of land at the mouth of Sauk River which lies closely between the lower extremity of that stream and the west bank of the Mississippi. At the mouth of Crow River the



Sioux were frequent visitors, occupying the entire Crow River Valley.

From their "Anoka" on the west side of the Mississippi opposite the mouth of Rum River, which was one of their permanent camping grounds, they had an overland trail to Lake Minnetonka. At the mouth of Minnesota River and along the entire valley of that stream there were many sites of permanent habitation in early times. From that region they habitually went down the Mississippi to Kaposia in season, to

harvest wild rice in the White Bear Lake region, and the trail over which Accault and Hennepin were conducted to Mille Lac, past the present site of Centreville, was in part the wild rice trail of the Mendota and Kaposia people. Red Rock, at the old and picturesque granite boulder with its newly repainted red stripes and bands, renewed often, tells the silent story of many voyages down and up the Mississippi, for there is no mound group or ancient village site at that rock.

GREY CLOUD ISLAND.

At a great bend in the Mississippi sixteen miles below St. Paul the contours of topography forced the creation of several channels, one of which is now Grey Cloud Slough. That slough and the main channel of the river now segregate Grey Cloud Island, formerly the site of habitations of mound-building Siouan Indians, and later one of the sites of old furtraders' places of rendezvous. With Mr. J. B. Chaney's assistance I sketched the natural features of the island and counted the mounds we discovered along its stretch of about six miles. At Robinson Rocks we met Mr. Joseph La Batte, a native of the state, who gave a delightful description of occurrences during his early life. He knew the furtraders after whom Moore Lake and Robinson Rocks were named. The site of their establishment on the bank of the Mississippi is visible and there was a trail leading from their locality to the site of Grey Cloud, said by Mr. La Batte to have been named after a Sioux chief. There is no substantial proof, such as can be accepted as permanent history, indicating that this island was formerly Radisson's "Second Landing Isle." The mound groups of Grey Cloud Island indicate that there were three ancient settlements, the importance of which was in the following order: First, Grey Cloud; second, Moore Lake; third, Robinson Rocks.

POINT DOUGLAS.

With headquarters at Prescott, Wisconsin, the exploration of the region about the mouth of St. Croix River was proceeded with. There are twenty-six mounds and five embankments along the high hills

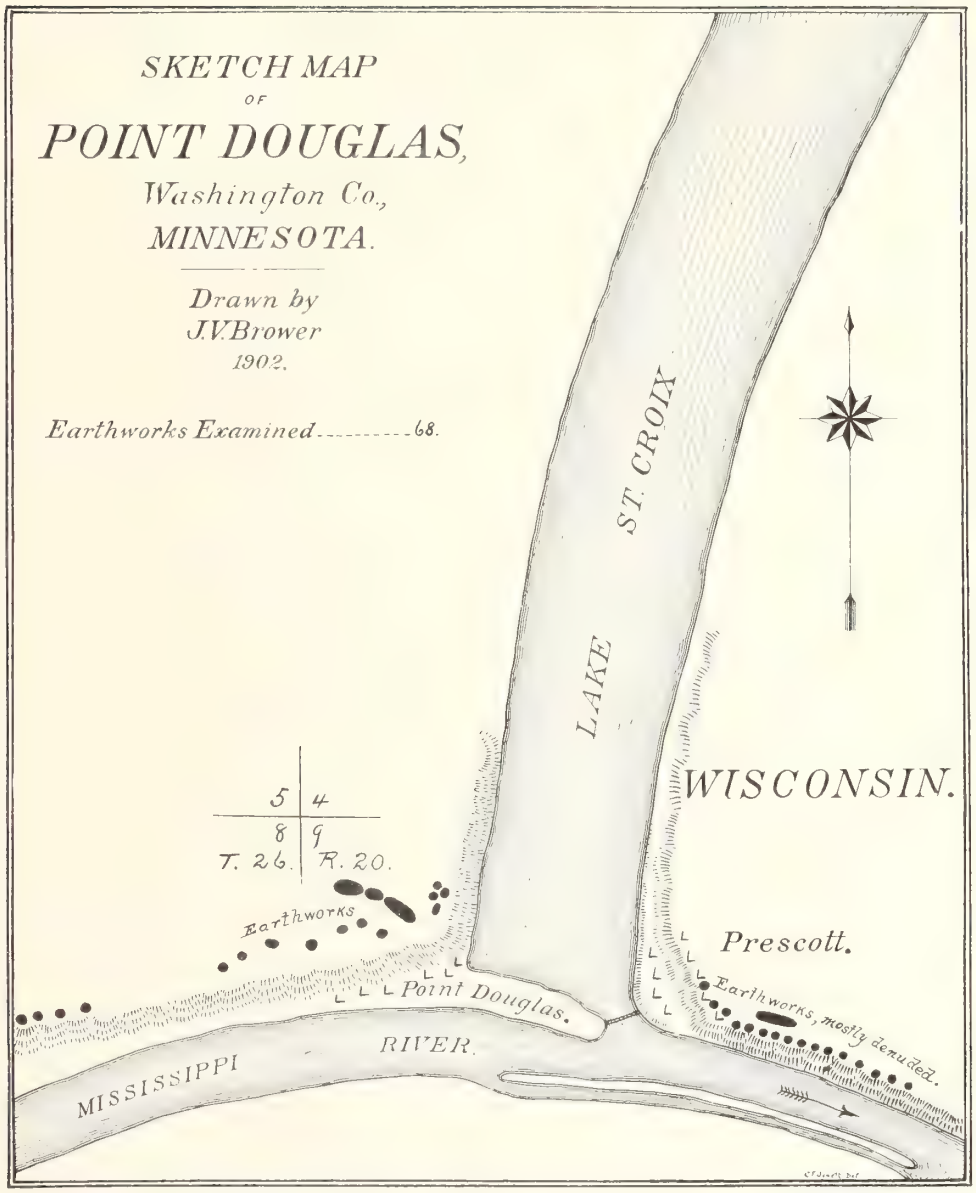
above Point Douglas, and an ancient village site and general camping ground at the base of the point which separates St. Croix Lake from the Mississippi.

Along the heights overlooking Prescott, Wisconsin, there is a long group of mounds and embankments which have been nearly denuded by gardeners and others. Some mounds of this group have been entirely removed to gardens and door yards for purposes of domestic use. The region about the mouth of St. Croix River has a great ethnologic history as the turning point for early Indian bands seeking any one of three routes of travel, up or down the Mississippi or to Snake River and Mille Lac.

JOSEPH LA BATTE.
Grey Cloud Island.
Born in Minnesota 1826.

At Hastings, Minnesota, my headquarters were at the home of Judge Crosby. His son, Mr. Howard W. Crosby, organized a party of ladies and gentlemen, consisting of himself and Mrs. P. H. Gotzian, the Misses Marion Crosby, Mabel and Edith Gardner, Mr. John P. Rettinger and Master Emil Gustavson, to explore the surrounding region. The party explored the Trudell Slough region where a group of eight large mounds are situated near the upper end of this old channel on bottomland. The stretch of valley land between Hastings and Prairie Island has been variously explored by Messrs. Crosby and Rettinger, when many valuable photographs of mounds and views were secured.

I undertook the exploration of the region along the Mississippi from Prescott to Diamond Bluff, Pierce County, Wisconsin, opposite Prairie Island. At the mouth of Big River on a high terrace there is a defensive enclosure consisting of long embankments of earth and several mounds so constructed that they form part of the enclosure.



GREAT DAKOTA INDIAN THOROUGHFARE.

Prairie Island to Snake River and Mille Lac.

A burial scaffold was discovered at mouth of St. Croix River, by Accault and Hennepin, 1680.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

VIEWS NEAR PRAIRIE ISLAND.

Fig. 1. From high bluff overlooking village of Diamond Bluff, Wisconsin. Mississippi River at the right and Diamond Bluff in the distance.

Fig. 2. Diamond Bluff village in the foreground, Mississippi River, Prairie Island and Sturgeon Lake. Bluffs on Minnesota side in the distance.

Big River Valley was explored to its head and found to be an ancient hunting ground often resorted to by considerable numbers of Dakota Indians.

A single stone cairn was found at the mouth of Big River on a high terrace opposite the enclosure which is located on the upper or northwestern side of that stream, six miles from Prescott.

Arriving at Diamond Bluff, an extraordinary mound region was encountered.

As the ethnologic character of this locality, considered in connection with Prairie Island, Cannon River and Red Wing, has been brought into the question of how, by whom and when was the area of Minnesota discovered, I approach a consideration of its archæologic peculiarities with caution, great care and confidence.

Explorations on the Wisconsin side of the Mississippi were extended from Diamond Bluff to Bay City, where there is located the site of an extensive fishing camp anciently resorted to by Dakota Indians, as can be shown by a characteristic collection of potshards and chipped flints gathered on the shore of Lake Pepin. The next general camping ground of those Indians was on the north shore of Lake Pepin at the present site of Warren.

At the mouth of Rush River where it unites with Lake Pepin, I came to a place of great historic interest, where the legends of Maiden Rock originated, too well known to require any extended comment here. Maiden Rock, as a beautiful bluff overlooking Lake Pepin, was in conspicuous view about three miles down the lake, while the present small village of that name lies under the bluffs only a mile distant. I explored the locality, discovering mound groups at the east side of Rush River on a terrace overlooking that stream, at The Pines three miles up Rush River Valley, and near the mouth of a small creek next below the present town. There is also one mound at the crest of Maiden Rock. Soon afterward I went forward to Zumbro River with Mr. Wilmar W. Hill.

DR WILLIAM MONTGOMERY SWENEY.

§ 3. RED WING.

PERPETUATION OF RESULTS OF PERMANENT INVESTIGATIONS MADE BY COMPETENT LOCAL AUTHORITIES AT AND BELOW THE PRAIRIE ISLAND REGION AND THE RELATION THEY BEAR TO THE ORIGINAL DISCOVERY OF MINNESOTA.

Dr. William Montgomery Sweney, of Red Wing, Minnesota, has been a persevering and successful investigator of archæologic conditions at Prairie Island, Red Wing and Lake Pepin for over forty years. He thoroughly understands all the principal ethnologic, hydrographic and topographic conditions incident to the region where he lives. His remarkable collection of archæologic objects has been obtained for the uses of this present study. The results of his long continued labor as an investigator, coupled with an intelligent knowledge of all local conditions at and about Red Wing, were by him very cheerfully tendered to me when the investigation of Prairie Island was taken up early in the spring of 1902.

Professor Edward W. Schmidt, M.A., a member of the faculty of Red Wing Seminary, has also been a persistent investigator of archæologic conditions for several years as a co-laborer of Dr. Sweney and otherwise. His remarkable collection of stone and flint artifacts has also been freely tendered for the benefit of the present inquiry and study.

Mr. Wilmer W. Hill, also of Red Wing, Minnesota, has likewise been an intelligent explorer and collector, while associated closely with Dr. Sweney and Professor Schmidt in their investigations. His collection is perhaps the most characteristic and valuable of any similar accumulation of ethnologic objects gathered at Red Wing. Many valuable artifacts from Mr. Hill's cabinet were donated for the benefit of this present complicated study. Every detail of his extended observations between Hastings and Wabasha has been placed at my disposal. Mr. Hill requested me to assume direction of the labor of archæologic exploration at Lake Pepin in 1900, but other unfinished labors delayed

PROFESSOR EDWARD WILLIAM SCHMIDT.

this work until 1902, when it was proceeded with as an important factor in recent investigations concerning the very earliest recorded history affecting Minnesota.

At Red Wing, Prairie Island and Lake Pepin I came after the three scholarly gentlemen above named, whom I am pleased to recognize as fully entitled to due credit for the results of extended field work. By mutual association we united all our work in one continuous effort to obtain accurate results for publication, in order to make more familiar the earliest events at Prairie Island. The entire locality surrounding that island received our united attention for many weeks, and the results now stated combine all our labors into one common presentation, unselfishly perpetuated for the benefit of Minnesota history.

REV. J. W. HANCOCK.

Dr. Sweney prepared a large map upon which he noted nearly all the earthworks visited. With some additions a chart was prepared, from all the information gathered, which includes the notes extended on the map mentioned. With his map Dr. Sweney presented a manuscript of eighty folios from which copious extracts have been taken. The manuscript describes in detail the results of numerous explorations which he has conducted at and near Red Wing and in the region about Prairie Island and Diamond Bluff.

An interesting manuscript by Professor Schmidt details practically all the contents of the earlier local notices and references concerning the original history affecting Red Wing.

I hope to publish the two papers in full as soon as opportunity may be available. At this time the Radisson and Chouart question has developed an unexpected demand upon the available space in

WILMER W. HILL

this *Memoir*, which has greatly changed the intended procedure to award local questions the largest consideration.

Rev. J. W. Hancock, over fifty years a missionary among the Siouan Indians at and near Red Wing, has been a constant student of ethnology. His portrait and numerous photographic views were contributed by Dr. Sweney, who refers to Mr. Hancock's labors in his manuscript.

Having united by mutual agreement with Dr. Sweney, Professor Schmidt and Mr. Hill for an extended archæologic examination of the Prairie Island and Lake Pepin localities, in the month of April, 1902, the author of this *Memoir* joined with them in a careful and detailed exploration along the banks of the Mississippi, at Cannon Valley, along

FARM HOME ON PRAIRIE ISLAND, MINNESOTA.

(Mr. A. A. Johnson, Proprietor.)

While the exploration of Prairie Island was conducted the headquarters of the party were at Mr. Johnson's farm.

Vermillion River and elsewhere, until every important or considerable mound group and village site were thoroughly examined.

A preliminary tour of Prairie Island having been accomplished we sent for Mr. Warren Upham to be present at the final survey. With headquarters at the farm of Mr. A. A. Johnson and with the assistance of Howard W. Crosby and John J. Rettinger the place which had been reported to the Historical Society as the site of Le Sueur's fort was found to be an ancient kiln precipitated into decay. Portions of the clay walls contain perforations indicating that reeds had been plentifully

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

MINNESOTA STONE CAIRNS.

FIG. 1. Cairn near Red Wing demolished.

FIG. 2. Partially restored Cairn on high bluff overlooking Cannon Valley.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

ANCIENT MOUNDS ILLUSTRATED.

FIG. 1. View of mound near Cannon Junction, Minnesota.

FIG. 2. End group of mounds on the Mero farm near Diamond Bluff, Wisconsin.

used, against which clay mortar had been plastered and fired. The long embankment with a squared projection, shown on the chart (Plate I.), near the north end of the island, was excavated and found to be an artificial earthwork which was undoubtedly erected as a defensive inclosure. The various mound groups and village sites were visited and many hundred archaeologic objects collected, all of which were fully determined to be characteristic ancient Dakota Indian specimens almost exactly similar to the same class of objects obtained at Kathio and Mille Lac. We searched faithfully in an endeavor to discover an ancient Huron Indian village site on Prairie Island commensurate with Upham's idea of Radisson's great gathering of Indians at the "First Landing Isle." No such village site could be found anywhere on Prairie Island. Mr. Upham was called upon to point out the camping ground and village site of such a large band of Hurons and Outaouas as Radisson described as having assembled preparatory to transporting peltries to Quebec, but he was unable to do so. After long continued investigation we found 260 earthworks on Prairie Island, some of which are differentiated as shown on the chart. The Huron settlement on this island must have been very small and unimportant. A thousand or twelve hundred Indians residing at a given point two years would most certainly deposit a vast quantity of village debris. The only quantities of such material found at Prairie Island were of Siouan origin, which I have preserved for museum display, all of which is similar to artifacts illustrated in this volume. Our investigations at Prairie Island were disappointing, for we all certainly expected to find a large Huron village site. The only "Landing" places conveniently available were at Sioux camps and villages as indicated by thoroughly identified collections of archaeologic objects of stone, chert, bone and potshards.

RED WING AND CANNON VALLEY.

Investigations at and near Red Wing were resumed by all concerned. At Cannon Junction and at other localities near there in the vicinity of the stone cairns, there exists distinct indications of a long continued occupancy dating far back into the remote past. Potshards were

Fig. 1

Fig. 2.

SCENES AT EGGLESTON.

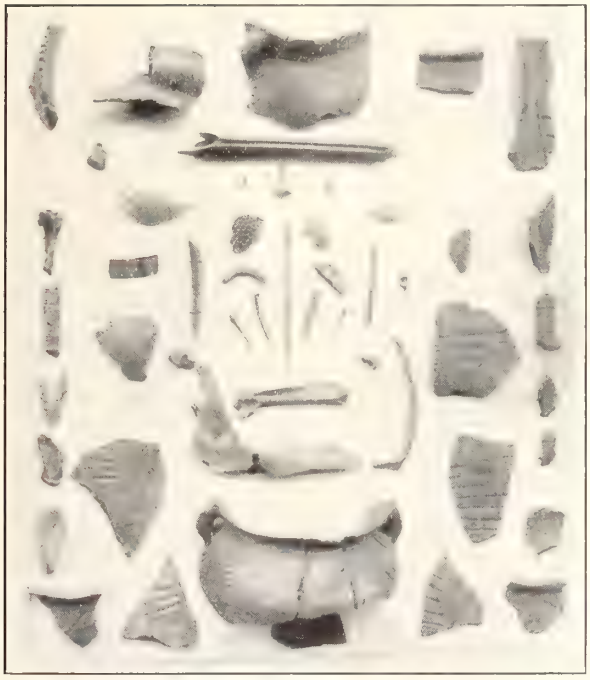
FIG. 1. From high bluff overlooking Eggleston, Prairie Island, the Mississippi, and mounds in the foreground. Wisconsin Bluffs in the distance.

FIG. 2. From high bluff overlooking Eggleston, Vermillion River and Prairie Island. High bluff on the Minnesota side at the right.

gathered and differentiated, showing recent serpentine, oblique and parallel chevrons of later Dakota fictile industry in contrast with a very thin, hard and compact series of shards; the new and the old intermixed. Some of the earthworks also indicate ancient and later construction.

Professor Schmidt discovered and named Fort Sweney, at the crest of a hill at Welch, Goodhue County, Minnesota. The inclosure overlooks Cannon River, and the surroundings show plainly that at least one sanguinary Indian conflict for supremacy occurred at that battle field at a time when mounds were constructed, and when the arms of conflict were flint pointed arrows, clubs with stone heads, and when lances were made from a combination of wood, chipped chert and sinew. The differentiated potshards and earthworks and the fort and battle field at Welch, indicate many and various occurrences which took place long previous to the time when the area of Minnesota was discovered by the earliest Frenchmen who approached and traversed our borders. Traditionary information which has been perpetuated in various ways, more particularly by communications and conferences between early missionaries and Dakota Indians, coupled with other evidences and historic data, has established a suitable foundation for our present knowledge concerning the occupancy of the Cannon Valley Region by Iowa Indians, who were forcibly driven westward and southward by the

DAKOTA INDIAN POTSHARDS
(Goodhue County, Minnesota.)



MOUND ARTIFACTS.

Potshard. ½.

Carded objects greatly reduced.

Recovered from a mound near Cannon Junction, Minnesota, by Dr. W. M. Sweney. The entire collection was an original deposit in the mound.

NOTE.—The potshards are distinctly of ancient Sioux origin indicating that Dakota Indians were builders of the mound mentioned.

Dakota bands, incidental to the enforced supremacy of The Seven Council Fire Indians by long continued warfare against all the earlier contemporaneous tribes which occupied any part of the area of Minnesota.

The examinations at Cannon River Valley which were extended to its western extremity, produced reliable information indicating that at least two conflicting nations measured their strength for possession. To that extent we are bound to recognize traditionary information in assuming that Fort Sweney must have been the site of one of the battles fought by the Dakotas against the Iowas. The surroundings and almost impregnable approaches to Fort Sweney indicate that a stubborn defense was maintained there. Professor Schmidt's discovery of that inclosure has created an important link in the archæologic history of Minnesota, definitely establishing the fact that there certainly was an ancient Indian war at that region. The Dakotas prevailed and assumed possession, and they were found there by many of the earlier explorers who traversed the locality. A disappearing remnant of that people are still tenaciously clinging to the ancient homes of their forefathers at Grey Cloud Island, Prairie Island, Red Wing and Wabasha.

The Sweney manuscript is too voluminous to reproduce in full at this time, pertinent quotations from which follow herewith:

EXTRACTS FROM THE SWENEY MANUSCRIPT.

All the mounds and earthworks near Red Wing, Minn., have been visited by me personally and the government subdivisions upon which they are located have been written in plain figures upon my field chart which has been placed in the keeping of Mr. Brower, so that if any doubts arise concerning the location of mound groups, reference can be extended to that chart. * * *

I take pleasure in quoting from the writings of two gentlemen who located at Red Wing fifty years ago. They were close observers of the mounds and earthworks before they were defaced by plow or spade. Rev. J. W. Hancock was stationed here in 1849, as a missionary to the Dakotas. Dr. W. W. Sweney located at Red Wing as a physician in 1852. Both were intelligent men and their honesty and truthfulness cannot be questioned. In the light of recent discoveries some of their conclusions do not appear to be well founded. (See p. 14, History of Goodhue Co., Minn.) * * *

Extract from an address by Dr. W. W. Sweney, in 1869, before the old settlers' association:

"Evidences of occupation of the country by a race of people whose habits in some respects differed from those of the Dakota's of the more recent period, were numerous. On the sharp hill points in the vicinity of Cannon River and Spring Creek, were a number of cairns or stone mounds. These were on the highest points, where shelly rock

YELLOW BIRD.

Typical Prairie Island Dakota of the present time. Daughter of Felix Rock, a half caste, and Susan Winnego, a full blood. Yellow Bird is best known as Miss Mary Rock. Date of birth, 1884. From a photograph by Phillips, Red Wing, Minnesota.

outcropped, and always overlooked the lower plateaus or valleys on which were situated large groups of earthen tumuli. The cairns were of various sizes, ranging from six feet in diameter to twelve at the base. Their shape was conical, and some in the best state of preservation had an elevation of from eight to ten feet. The base was on the bed rock and all the loose stones in the vicinity had evidently been gathered to aid in the completion of the structure. The first layer was in the form of a circle, and by inlapping toward the centre in every succeeding layer, an apex was finally reached. A majority of these structures had fallen in, leaving a circle of rude masonry from three to four feet high while the remains of the upper portion laid in a mass inside the wall, not filling the cavity, showing very conclusively that they had been built hollow. Being very desirous of ascertaining the purposes for which they were erected, I selected two of the most perfect, which were situated on an isolated hill in the valley leading from the little brook near Hawley's mill to Spring Creek. This hill is very sharp and narrow barely affording level base enough for the foundation of the large mound which was at least twelve feet in diameter and nine feet high. It had settled considerably pressing on the cavity. After an hour's hard work we were in a situation to observe the condition at its foundation. A few handsful of black mould was scattered over the bare base rock, a fragment of bone three inches long, a muscle shell nearly in powder and two remnants of wood, distant from each other about six feet in an east and west direction, was all it contained. Of the bone there was hardly enough to determine conclusively as to the species of animal to which it belonged, but I think it was a portion of the humerus, or upper arm bone of an adult human being. When we found the wooded fragments they were standing upright, as stakes, supported in that position by rock, and were dry-rotted to points. With a knife I cut off all the decayed wood, the centre being a mere splinter, but enough to clearly distinguish it as that kind of oak known as swamp or blue oak. I searched very thoroughly for teeth, as my opinion was and is, that these cairns were burial places, thinking that the enameled portions would resist the process of decay, but none were to be found. The other mound did not yield the same amount of discoveries; a little mould, and traces of what we supposed to be decayed bones or shells was all that repaid our labor.

As I observed, I think these cairns were designd as burial places, and for distinguished personages. The material of which they were composed secured them against the depredations of wild animals. Their number, however, would lead to the conclusion that it was not the common mode of sepulture. The groups of earthen mounds in the valleys overlooked by these cairns, were counted by hundreds, and I think were once human habitations; and if my conjectures be in the right direction, these isolated cemeteries would not alone contain the mortuary remains of as numerous a people as the evidences then to be observed indicated.

These rock structures appear to be peculiar to that portion of our county lying between Hay Creek and Cannon River, and distant but two or three miles from the Mississippi River. In no other portion of our county or state have I observed remains of a similar character. The earthen structures are always found where the soil is alluvial and loose, doubtless for the purpose of quickly absorbing the moisture from rains and melting snow, and consequently are mostly seen, when in numbers, in the valleys or on benches, considerably below the general level of the country, and in the vicinity of water. Occasionally one is found in situations almost corresponding with those of the cairns; and looking at these with reference to those in the valley beneath, the conclusion arrived at is that they were designed as shelters for outposts or sentinels whose duty it was to spy out danger and give warning to the inhabitants below.

On breaking up land on which were many of these mounds, I exposed large quantities of broken pottery and muscle shells. The fragments of pottery appears to be a combination of tenacious clay and pulverized shells. It had a thickness of about one-fourth of an inch and on the outside were rudely delineated, with some pointed instru-

ment, the figures of men, animals, foliage, etc. I noticed but one peculiarity in specimens. The representations of a weapon of war or chase was not found which would have been different had the habits of the makers in any way approached those of the modern Dakotas. The earthenware appeared to have been sun-dried, as there was no trace of the action of fire to redden the clay, and from the different shapes observable in the fragments, were manufactured in various forms.

In numbers of places where farms have been made in the vicinity of mounds, similar exhumations have taken place, and some very perfect specimens of the manufacture before spoken of have been obtained, but unfortunately it was not appreciated, and has become lost to the researches and speculations of the antiquarian.

In digging into several of these hillocks, where in numbers, I have invariably found in the center of the base charcoal and earth reddened by the action of heat, but the rule does not always hold in the isolated ones on the hilltops. On the Wisconsin shore, opposite this place, there are vast numbers of mounds dotted over the sandy plain between the river and bluffs. Some of these deviate from the regular circular form, being composed of a main body oblong shape, with wings, resembling the prostrate position of a bird with wings outstretched.

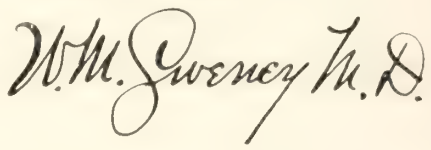
On the farm of Mr. Charles Spalis, near Cannon River, was the largest collection of tumuli in a given space that I ever saw, rendering it difficult to bring the ground into proper shape for cultivation, and which the plough has not wholly obliterated in the twelve or fourteen years in which the soil has been tilled. I could fancy when I first saw this locality, on which were some three hundred mounds, that a little ravine running down to the water had been worn to that condition by the constant tread of a busy multitude, and the appearances, really indicated the fact; without calling on the imagination to assist in forming conclusions.

I will close, hoping that all who feel interested in the antiquities of this country, will carefully observe and preserve all such evidences as may fall into their hands, noting localities and surroundings. Small things sometimes give might into the history of the past. I have, as yet, to find the first trace of a warlike people in the remains above spoken of—not even an arrow head of flint, which would be imperishable. The Dakotas once used them, but I have never seen one taken from a mound or from close proximity thereto."

When we consider that it was thirty-five years ago that the author of the foregoing, delivered the address, and his explorations and observations were made ten or fifteen years previous, it will not seem so strange that articles, such as flint arrow points, spear heads, etc., should have escaped his keen eye. Deeper plowing, the thorough rotting of the grass roots, and the pulverizing of the soil, has made it possible for a person with some knowledge of archaeology, to convince the most skeptical, that the mound builder was no Quaker. Arrow points and spear heads of flint, stone axes, celts and sinkers, have been found within the last three or four years, by the thousand. While it proves very conclusively, that the implements found scattered through a mound, and, in a pit at the base, were placed there by the parties who constructed the mound; yet, the Indians found inhabiting this country, by the Europeans who first visited this locality, were using the very same implements, ornaments, and utensils, as we find buried in the interior of the mounds.

I have opened up several mounds and as a rule, I have had my labor for my pains; but am not discouraged, for on one or two occasions, have been amply rewarded. On excavating a small mound about three feet high, I found a pit in the center at the base, about three feet in depth and the same in diameter, excavated below the natural surface of the ground. I found imbedded in the soil in the pit, large quantities of ashes, charcoal, half the jaw bone of a deer, one-half of an earthen pot and parts of five or six others, wing bones of some large bird, bones from the throat of a fish

known as the sheephead, scales from the Rock Sturgeon, a bone from a bird, about six inches long that had been worked into shape much resembling a pen, part of the shell of a turtle, three or four bone implements, flint chippings, clam shells, etc. Yet neither the soil or these delicate articles of bone or scale showed the least trace of the action of heat. Workmen grading a road on the brow of the hill at the west End Driving Park unearthed the skeletons of thirteen human beings, whose bones had been thrown in one promiscuous heap, so small was the space, that opinion must prevail that hey were denuded of flesh before being placed in position. No implements were found there. Many skeletons are unearthed from the perfectly level ground buried with the same implements as we find associated with the remains found, showing that mound burial was not the only means of disposing of the dead.

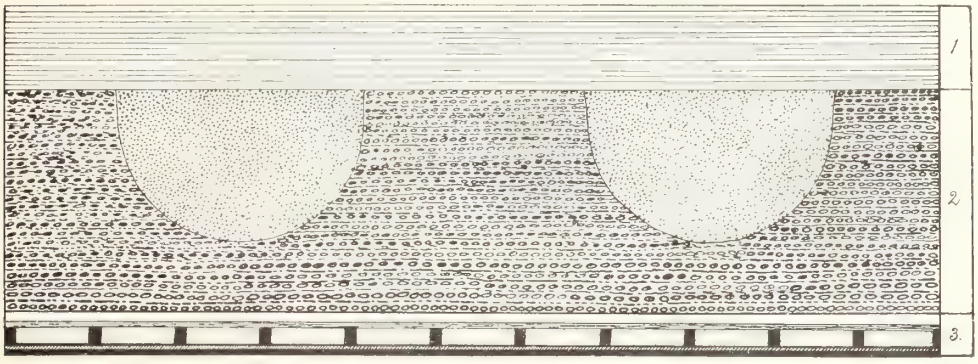


At page 147, Volume I., *Minnesota Historical Collections*, there appears another early description of the stone cairns by Rev. J. F. Aiton. He learned of the existence of the stone-heaps near Red Wing in 1848, and investigated them in 1852, with practically the same results as attended Dr. Sweney's examination.

The discovery of remnants of decayed oak and red cedar posts beneath the precipitated walls of the cairns near Red Wing fifty years ago, considered by me in connection with the recorded statements of the late Dr. Sweney and Rev. J. W. Hancock, and compared with the well known facts concerning scaffold burials within the area of Minnesota in ancient times, constitutes at least a probable solution of the question concerning the true character of the cairns. Limestone in place forms an important surface portion of many hilltops about the locality where the stone heaps exist. Scaffold posts could not be set into the limestone formation. In my opinion the Indians who constructed the cairns in oval-like hollow walls around posts did so ingeniously while constructing scaffolds for mortuary purposes. Being unable to set the posts into the bed rocks, they were held in upright position by the cairn structures which were erected around the base of the four or more large posts which constituted the upright frame of the scaffold, thereby offering permanent structures set in limestone walls. They are now in a state of precipitated decay, scarcely anything except irregular stone heaps remaining. There is very little if any evidence indicating the identity of the builders, except environment, which almost surely proves

that the cairns were erected by Iowa Indians, or by their individual successors at Cannon Valley, the Dakotas. I know of no reason why a high scaffold erected for the ceremonies of burial rites might not have also been used as an outlook in case of danger from an approaching enemy.

At the site of Chief Red Wing's village on the terrace where the city of Red Wing is now situated there is a recent railroad cut through a bed of stratified gravel. Dr. Sweney pointed out a series of ash pits which were exposed to view by the excavation mentioned. Lieutenant Z. M. Pike visited this Indian village one hundred years ago, assuming friendly relations with Red Wing and his followers. While examining the



INDIAN ASH PITS AT RED WING, MINNESOTA.

1. Recent debris deposited by white population.
2. Stratified glacial gravel underlying site of Red Wing's village. Stippled excavations show form of ash pits filled with ashes, animal and bird bones, corn cobs, clay potshards, stone implements and pieces of old style blue dishes.
3. Chicago Great Western Railroad track in cut through gravel bed.

exposed ash pits I gathered innumerable objects of village debris from the contents of various deposits which had been cast into the pits. I found specimens of serpentine and obliquely marked pieces of clay pots intermixed with ashes, corn cobs, bird, animal and fish bones, decayed birch bark, a mill stone, pieces of old fashioned blue dishes and a slight indication of decayed tinware. The debris recovered from those pits, intermixed in irregular masses, indicated plainly the merging of the customs of an ancient stone age into the period of historic occurrences

and habits, confirming the identification of clay vessels made and used by Dakota Indians.

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS CATALOGUED.

With the assistance of Dr. Sweney and Mr. Hill, the following list of ancient earthworks, covering the 1902 examinations, has been formulated:

Ojibway rifle pits at Crow Wing	11
Mounds at Grey Cloud Island	107
Mounds and earthworks near Point Douglas	31
Group and embankments at Prescott, Wisconsin	37
Earthworks near mouth of Big River, Wisconsin	12
Group near Diamond Bluff, Wisconsin	60
Mounds along summit of Diamond Bluff	13
Mero group, greatly denuded, about	300
Mounds at Trenton, Wisconsin	5
Adams group, near Hager, Wisconsin	74
Scattering mounds near Boulder Outline	14
Mounds near Mohler Lake, Wisconsin	9
Mounds near Bay City, Wisconsin	4
Group near mouth of Rush River, Wisconsin	42
Group at "The Pines," Rush River Valley	37
Group near mouth of Pine Creek, Wisconsin	12
Mound at crest of Maiden Rock	1
Hill group overlooking Zumbro River, Minnesota, near Dumfries, including lodge circles and embankments	83
Mounds at and near Wabasha, Minnesota	200
Mounds near Lake City, reported by Mr. Hill	16
Mounds at crest of Barn Bluff	2
Mounds at city of Red Wing	50
Various groups of earthworks at Prairie Island	260
Mounds near Eggleston	12
On Sweney chart at Myers group	15
On Sweney chart at Hobart group	25
On Sweney chart at Nelson group	23
On Sweney chart at Keith group	26
On Sweney chart at Wilson and Benson groups	39
On Sweney chart at R. Spates group	5
On Sweney chart at Cannon Junction Hill	11
On Sweney chart at Gove group	43
On Sweney chart at Charles Spates group	197
On Sweney chart at mouth of Belle Creek	57
On Sweney chart at Bryant and Nelson group	77

On Sweney chart at Streeter group	35
Several other groups noted on same chart	114
Earthworks, mounds and pits at Fort Sweney	41
Demolished stone cairns	13
Other and various earthworks in Prairie Island Region, estimated number	200
Total	2313

No attempt is here made to differentiate animal shaped or effigy mounds, variously located among many of the groups described. Such mounds have been known to exist near Red Wing since about 1848 by various writers. A mound the form of a wolf and one the form of a beaver were observed at the Mero group. At the Hill group on Zumbro River there is a beautifully formed bird mound with outstretched wings, similar to one at The Pines on Rush River. Another large imitative earthwork exists at Indian Slough, Prairie Island.

There are also various elongated embankments adjacent to or associated with burial mounds. The three distinct earthworks of this character on top of the hill overlooking Point Douglas are respectively 100, 200 and 300 feet long, about twenty feet in width and from two to three feet in height. One embankment which forms part of the inclosure at the mouth of Big River, Pierce County, Wisconsin, was partially denuded by the construction of a railroad along the base of the hill below the crest where the earthwork was constructed. At that position a view directly southwestward overlooks the Mississippi, Prairie Island and the bluffs on the opposite side of Vermillion River, in Minnesota. Various embankments were observed at the Mero group, greatly modified by denudation. Dr. Sweney charted a series of peculiar earthworks located upon a terrace overlooking Spring Creek. They appear like defensive embankments, and are located near the southwest corner of Section 27, Burnside Township, Goodhue County, Minnesota. They have been made the subject of careful consideration and there does not appear to be any reason to question their identity as one of the results of Indian warfare, notwithstanding the peculiarities of form and structure.

The particular care and cautionary discretion which have been exercised in the present endeavor to reach correct conclusions concerning

the discovery of Minnesota has received the following endorsement from Professor Schmidt:

DEAR MR. BROWER — Your letter was received and read with pleasure. Whatever your results and determinations are will, of course, interest us. Though the territory in this region will not hold the preeminent position which it at first seemed to be bound to do, yet it would be erroneous to try and pursue an idea farther than facts would seem to warrant or a *reasonable* argument furnish a basis for. But if your available documents positively point in another direction, how can a truth-thinking and a truth-seeking mind do otherwise than be as faithful to truth as a needle to the magnetic pole? A wise mind is always or ought to be subject to change on good evidence. There is no better fibre in character than truthfulness, especially when standing by opinions that shatter our former dreams or ideals.

ARROWSHAPE GRINDER.
(Sandstone.)
From Goodhue County, Minnesota.

We are, therefore, pleased with anything that you arrive at so long as it is an addition to truth. We have simply proffered you such help and information as we were capable of, and even now we feel that our efforts were not in vain when we recall our pleasant trips. It always seemed as if archæological arguments of a convincing kind in support of the Prairie Island theory were singularly conspicuous by their absence. However, if there are any there, and they shall come to light when the sod tells its story, there would be few who would like to announce the fact with greater pleasure and interest than some of us.

EDWARD W. SCHMIDT.

RED WING, December 20, 1902.

No one regrets more than does the present author the inadequacy of the foregoing archæologic descriptions. The pressure upon the pages of this *Memoir* for space has been so considerable that the contents of my field books 21, 22 and 23, reduced to writing while the Prairie Island and Red Wing localities were under observation, could only be briefly available. Those books contain a daily entry of the results of current explorations, noted down in detail as the examinations were proceeded with. The museum collection will probably remain permanently at St. Paul, Minnesota.

§ 4. RELATION OF CAMPBELL.

IMPORTANT HISTORICAL STUDY AFFECTING THE EARLY HISTORY OF MINNESOTA BY A MEMBER OF THE PARKMAN CLUB OF MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, AND HIS SUBSEQUENT DETERMINATIONS.

Mr. Henry Colin Campbell, a charter member of the Parkman Club, which was organized at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1895, for the purpose of publishing contributions to history, is the author of papers entitled as follows:

Radisson's Journal: Its Value in History. Page 88, Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, December 12, 1895. Parkman Club Publications No. 2, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, January 14, 1896—*Exploration of Lake Superior. The Voyages of Radisson and Groseilliers.* Radisson and Groseilliers: Problems in Early Western History, American Historical Review, January, 1896, pages 226–37.

Mr. Campbell has also contributed the following brief summary based on the published articles mentioned and the results of his continued studies to the present time:

RADISSON AND THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

After long and careful investigation of the subject of the discovery of the Upper Mississippi River, I am strongly of the opinion that the attempt to give that honor to Radisson and Groseilliers is without reasonable justification and will not be sanctioned by the historians of the future. The claim that those two travelers reached the Upper Mississippi a number of years ahead of Louis Joliet and Father Marquette is supported by no evidence except Radisson's word, the word of a man easily convicted of falsehood, while all contemporaneous evidence is adverse to his claim.

I am asked to write my reasons briefly for taking this position. From a sense of duty I hasten to do so.

Radisson states in his Journal that he and Groseilliers made two voyages to the Northwest—one to Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River, occupying three years, and the other to Lake Superior and thence north to Hudson Bay, occupying two years.

The Jesuit Relations tell us of two nameless voyageurs who returned to Quebec in August, 1656, from a voyage of two years to the region of Green Bay.

The Relations also tell us of two voyageurs who returned to Quebec in August, 1660, from a year's voyage to Lake Superior, including overland journeys into Northern Wisconsin and Northeastern Minnesota.

Radisson and Groseilliers were the nameless explorers of the Lake Superior country, mentioned in the Relations, who returned to Quebec in mid-summer, 1660. On this point there can be no doubt. Radisson himself says that he and Groseilliers in returning from this voyage, passed the Long Sault on the Ottawa River soon after the massacre of Dollard and his companions by the Iroquois—a memorable event of May, 1660. With the exception of his story about going to Hudson Bay during this voyage, Radisson's Narrative agrees in regard to the itinerary covered and the Indian nations visited, including the fugitive Hurons and the powerful Sioux, with the account of the travels of the two nameless explorers mentioned in the Relations. Any remaining doubt as to the identity of Radisson and Groseilliers with the unnamed explorers of Lake Superior is set at rest by the Journal of the Jesuits which supplies the name of Groseilliers as one of the two men mentioned in the Relations who returned from Lake Superior in August, 1660.

Some writers, determined to credit Radisson's story, and overlooking his own statement about descending the Ottawa soon after the Dollard massacre, to say nothing of the indisputable evidence in the Jesuit Relations and the Journal of the Jesuits, boldly assert that it was in 1661 that they started for Lake Superior and in 1663 that they returned from that region. This theory is shattered by an entry in the Journal of the Jesuits for May, 1662, showing that Groseilliers was near Quebec very early in that month on his way to the "Sea of the North"—Hudson Bay—by way of the ocean. Radisson and Groseilliers in fact began in the fall of 1660 to exploit the fur trade of the Hudson Bay region, and after that year gave no more thought to the country of the Great Lakes. Radisson's Journal shows this, and, what is more important, it is borne out in this respect by contemporaneous history.

It is therefore certain that Radisson and Groseilliers were the nameless explorers whose return from Lake Superior in August, 1660, is chronicled in the Relations.

Were they the nameless explorers whom the Relations connect with Lake Michigan and the surrounding region during 1654-6? This is not certain. But either they were those nameless explorers or else Radisson's account of the voyage to Lake Michigan and down the Mississippi River is untrue from beginning to end.

Keep in mind the fact that the western travels of Radisson and Groseilliers terminated in 1660. Then consider these facts: Radisson did not arrive from France until the spring of 1651; he was captured by the Mohawks in 1652 and did not regain his liberty until the spring of 1654; Radisson and Groseilliers were members of the French colony which in 1657 went into the Onondaga country, and which, barely escaping with life, as history records and as Radisson himself narrates, reached the French settlements on the St. Lawrence in the spring of 1658.

Radisson, it will be seen, could have visited the Lake Michigan region between the spring of 1654, when he reached home after his captivity among the Mohawks and the spring of 1657, when he joined the Onondaga Colony. His presence elsewhere than in the Lake Michigan country, at all other periods, is authentically accounted for.

And so with Groseilliers. His whereabouts before August, 1654, when the nameless ones of the Relations started for Lake Michigan, and after August, 1656, when they returned, are known. He was sergeant-major of the garrison at Three Rivers in February, 1654, from which time until Sept. 29th, 1656, when he was again at Three Rivers, nothing is known of his movements. The period during which he was missing from the French Settlements corresponds, even more closely than does Radisson's interval of seclusion, with the time during which the nameless voyageurs of the Relations were exploring the region of Lake Michigan.

The nameless explorers spent two years around Lake Michigan. Radisson says that his earlier western voyage in company with Groseilliers occupied three years, and he specifically states where they spent three winters. But Groseilliers could have been absent from the French Settlements merely from the spring or summer of 1654 to the summer of 1656—two years only, so that Radisson stretched the truth about the

duration of their voyage, even if it took place at all. Radisson and Groseilliers may have been the nameless voyageurs of 1654-6, but even if they were, the fact that Radisson prevaricated in regard to the time that the journey occupied, is reasonably good evidence that he was not any more truthful about the extent of territory which he and Groseilliers explored. He calls the Mississippi River the "forked river" and claims that they descended it to the "salt sea"—the Gulf of Mexico, thus not only anticipating the discovery of Joliet and Marquette, but the explorations by La Salle as well. It is incredible. The honor of discovering the Upper Mississippi River cannot be awarded to them, and therefore the supposition that they visited Lake Pepin or any other part of Minnesota during this voyage, even if they were the nameless explorers of the Relations, cannot be accepted. The utmost that can be established in favor of the explorers of Lake Michigan during 1654-6, whether or not they were Radisson and Groseilliers, is that they simply duplicated Jean Nicollet's achievement in 1634—the exploration of Lake Michigan, Green Bay and part of the Fox River.

There is no reason to doubt that in the winter of 1659-60 while on their Lake Superior voyage, Radisson and Groseilliers did penetrate into Minnesota, very likely as far as the Thousand Lakes [Mille Lac], but certainly not to the Mississippi. They were the first white men to set foot upon Minnesota soil.

Henry Colin Campbell

Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 15, 1902.

Mr. Campbell is at present engaged in the preparation of an extended review of the Nicollet-Radisson periods in Wisconsin history. The above concise paper certainly forecasts the final determinations upon which Wisconsin historians are expected to agree for the cultured perpetuation of the earliest annals of that state. The discovery of the area of Minnesota depends almost exclusively upon a correct interpretation of the historic data which acceptably delineate the true and original earliest history of Wisconsin, for the very certain reason that the first approach by white men to the border of Minnesota was over and across the area of that state and its navigable waters. The historians of that commonwealth yield allegiance to the studies of Mr. Campbell quite generally on account of the real value of his carefully ascertained results as stated in the several articles he has caused to be published. There is no possible reason why the history of the discovery of the area of Wisconsin, and of the area of Minnesota, should or can be determined on widely divergent and differentiated lines of investigation which result in chaotic dismemberment of actual historic occurrences to enable the results of personal ambitions to override and submerge the cherished basis of our stability as a historical people. I append a document

herewith which indicates quite certainly that the attempt to create for Radisson a snowshoe voyage across Wisconsin from Green Bay to the Mississippi in the winter season of 1655, or at any other time, will not be accepted in the absence of proof based on more reliable information than the opinion of any presumptuous writer.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

Madison, Dec. 26th, 1902.

Dear Sir: The only authentic documents relative to Radisson and Groseilliers' visit to Wisconsin, are so far as I know, his journals as published by the Prince Society and in part in the Wisconsin Historical Collections. An excellent monograph based on these documents written by Henry C. Campbell of Milwaukee is a most exhaustive and forcible relation of the work of these explorers. He argues that their first western voyage was probably in 1654. That they spent the winter of 1654-55 among the Pottawottomies, and in 1655 visited the Fox River country and suggests they possibly saw the Mississippi River. Historical students would welcome further information regarding the travels of these two explorers who doubtless saw the Upper Mississippi years before Joliet and Marquette, but in the absence of documentary testimony it is presumption to seriously claim that Radisson crossed Wisconsin on snowshoes from Green Bay to the Mississippi River in 1654-55. Very truly yours,

ROBERT L. McCORMICK.

The distinguished gentleman who wrote the above communication to the author of this *Memoir* is President of the Wisconsin Historical Society and an honorary member of the Minnesota Historical Society.

As a student of Wisconsin history he very properly insists that the permanent record of the earliest discoveries in Wisconsin and the Northwest, especially that relating to the discovery of the Mississippi, should be based on ascertained and accepted facts.

The history of Wisconsin and Minnesota, closely allied, is being gradually perfected by many students. There are about twenty-five different writers who have endeavored to fathom the chronology of *Radisson's Narratives* with indifferent success, but we are now approaching a better understanding of that obscure historic record as collateral documentary evidences are becoming more thoroughly understood. How much better it would be for all concerned if we had more students with the same conservative patience which has been displayed by Mr. Campbell and Mr. McCormick.

§ 5. CANADIAN ARCHIVES.

IMPARTIAL HISTORICAL REVIEWS WHICH THROW NEW LIGHT ON THE QUESTION OF THE EARLIEST DISCOVERY OF THE AREA OF MINNESOTA BY FRENCHMEN, BASED ON A LIFELONG STUDY OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCES RELATING TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE.

Mr. Benjamin Sulte, acting Deputy Minister of Militia and Defense, Dominion of Canada, who is a scholarly and accomplished historical writer in the French language, as a descendant of an honorable family which settled at Three Rivers, Lower Canada, in 1641, has been a life-long contributor to the history of early events in New France and Canada. Incidentally his literary labors have been extended toward the earliest discovery of the Northwest.

During recent years he has been a liberal contributor to the columns of *Le Canadien* and *Echo de l'Ouest*, two publications in the French language, periodically issued respectively at St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota. There are about sixty or more of Mr. Sulte's communications in those two publications, all bearing on the early history of New France and Canada, all of which are preserved in the archives of the Minnesota Historical Society.

When it was determined to proceed with a consideration of the earliest discovery of the area of Minnesota in this *Memoir*, Mr. Sulte was requested to enter upon a discussion of his views concerning the Radisson Voyages and contemporary occurrences. During the latter part of 1902, about seventy-five communications addressed to the present author, were prepared by him, all containing many references of great interest to the early history of Minnesota. Those communications have been arranged in somewhat irregular order for presentation herewith as a concise discussion of the substance of that portion of the history of New France which bears upon the voyages of Radisson and Chouart. We should not overlook the fact that Mr. Sulte's historical writings

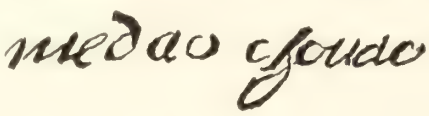
have the advantage of a direct compilation from documentary evidences in Canada. Being a thoroughly equipped French student he has been enabled to present questions which are new to the people of Minnesota, and I have gained a store of information from his communications which are willingly perpetuated herewith in sufficiently convenient form.

THE SUITE STUDIES.

In 1654 the Outawas and the Tobacco Hurons were at Kioncanan, south shore of Lake Superior, East of the great point called Chagouamigon. From there a large number went that year to Canada with plenty of fur, by lake Huron, lake Nipissing and River des Prairies, which took the name of Outawa about the year 1670 on account of their yearly passage through that route. They had sent messengers in 1653 to notify the French of their coming.

On the 6th of August, 1654, two Frenchmen embarked with the Hurons—Outawas for lake Superior. The names of these two men are not known.

Medar Chouar—is the signature of the man, in the spring of 1654 at Three Rivers.



Sieur—is of no importance; something like "sir" applied to a man, speaking to him; or "that gentleman," alluding to somebody in a conversation.

Groseilliers—is a mere nickname. We have plenty of them in the Province of Quebec.

The mayor of Beauharnois, near Montreal, is Mr. des Groseilliers, but I think the family name is Volant, after Claude Volant, a relative of Chouar.

Chouart is not an uncommon name in France. It is also that of a species of birds belonging to the owl family. A branch of these birds is called—Chouette.

In 1646 Chouart returned to Quebec with specimens of copper ore from Lake Superior. He went back to the West the same year. (*Journal des Jesuites.*)

In 1622 Etienne Brule had also brought similar pieces of metal from the same region. (C. W. Butterfield: *Etienne Brule.*

Perhaps you are aware that I was the first to show that Jean Nicolet made his voyage in 1634, and not in 1639. This was accomplished about 1878, in one of my papers published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

In 1656, the two men who went west in 1654 returned to Quebec with a large number of Outawas, Hurons, and Sauteux. They furnished a lot of information on the country, the Sioux, the Illinois, the Pouaracs and Kiristinons, as mentioned by the *Relations des Jesuites* of 1656.

According to Radisson, p. 134, Chouart must have gone with these people to the West in 1656, because he says positively that he (Chouart) returned in 1657.

Radisson says that on the 24th of May, 1651, he arrived in Canada and that the following year he was taken prisoner by the Iroquois near Three Rivers (pp. 25-26 of his narrative.)

The year 1652 was remarkable at Three Rivers by the slaughter of one-third of its inhabitants—in August. Therefore, I think Radisson must have been captured in June or July, because in August the French would not have ventured four or five miles out of the place, as did Radisson and his two companions for shooting game.

I must note that in 1651 and 1652 three sisters of Radisson were already settled at Three Rivers—one of them, Marguerite, being married to Jean Veron de Grandmesnil.

From the summer of 1652 until the 29th of November, 1653, it is an easy matter to follow Radisson (pp. 25-86) through his adventures amongst the Iroquois—on Lake St. Peter, River Richelieu, Lake Champlain, and to the vicinity of Oswego, his desertion from there, his recapture on one of the islands of Lake St. Peter, his second captivity accompanied with tortures, his trip to the environs of Buffalo with the Iroquois, his visit to Albany, his return to Oswego and finally his second visit to Albany, where (29th Nov., 1653) he accepted the offer of the Dutch Governor to liberate him. Then he embarks for Holland, lands at Amsterdam 4th January, 1654, goes to La Rochelle in France and from there reaches Three Rivers again(in May, 1654?)

The first time that the nickname of des Groscilliers is mentioned in connection with Chouart is on 16th July, 1653, when he returned to Quebec from Acadia. (*Journal des Jesuites.*)

1657, 18th July. Mr. Chouart sieur de Groseilliers attends as witness in court at Three Rivers. I have given you the fac-simile of his signature.

1657, 7th August. Three Rivers. Was born Marie-Anne, daughter of Medard Chouard dit Des Groizeliers and Marguerite Haiet. The godmother, Elizabeth Radisson, was married to Claude Jutras, at Three Rivers, on the 25th November following.

1654, 24th February. Medard Chouart des Groseillers was sergeant-major of the garrison. (A deed by Severin Ameau, notary, Three Rivers.)

1654, 19th March. Madame des Groseilliers has a claim against the estate of Mathieu Labat (same source).

1654, 25th July. Was born Jean-Baptiste, son of Marguerite Hayet-Radisson and Medard Chouard, at Three Rivers. (Registrar of the Parish Church.)

1655, 29th March. At Three Rivers, Marguerite Hayet, wife of sieur des Groseillers is present at the signature of a marriage contract passed by Ameau.

1655. During that year Marguerite Hayet was a witness before the Court at Three Rivers for her husband, Medard Chouart des Groseillers, absent.

On his return to Three Rivers (May, 1654?) Radisson learned also that his second sister, Francoise, had married Claude Volant in his absence. The date is not known, but the christening of twins on the 8th and 10th November, 1654, is a good guide for calculation in this case. It is seldom that an act of baptism, marriage or death is omitted in the parish register of Three Rivers.

By the dates of the christening of four of the children of Medard Chouart and Marguerite Radisson we may state that Chouart was present at Three Rivers on the 25th October, 1653; was present at Three Rivers on the 7th November, 1656; was present at Three Rivers on the 15th July, 1658; was present at Three Rivers on the 7th September, 1660.

Date of Birth—Jean-Baptiste, 25th July, 1654; M.-Anne, 7th August, 1657; Marguerite, 15th April, 1659; M.-Antoinette, 7th June, 1661.

Every child was christened on the day of his birth, or the next day. That was a strict rule of the Church.

Radisson (p. 136) says Chouart and he left Three Rivers for the West "about the middle of June," 1658.

In 1649 Chouart went to France (*Journal des Jesuites*). He appears to have come back in 1650 as his son Medard was born in 1651. The mother, Helene Martin, died at that last date. These people lived in Quebec—not Three Rivers.

When Radisson came back from Holland and France and arrived at Three Rivers at a date upknown (p. 86) he found his sister Marguerite remarried, because Veron de Grandmesnil had been killed, 19th August, 1652, and that he did not know this before his return to Three Rivers. The new husband of Marguerite was Medard Chouart, who had married her on 24th August, 1653.

The last sentence of Radisson in his First Voyage (p. 86) is as follows: "I stayed (at La Rochelle) till spring, expecting ye transporte of a shippe for new france." That was near the spring of 1654.

Immediately after these words we have the narrative of the Second Voyage to the Iroquois Country.

The first 20 lines of that Second Voyage are evidently foreign to the First Voyage.

In those days, the vessels from France never reached Quebec before the 20th of June and often not before the 1st of July. How comes it that Radisson states that he left (where?) in a fisher boat on the 15th May and arrived at Percee Island on the 7th of that month?

This is a manifest contradiction. Even if we suppose that this passage means a continuation of the first voyage we must read "7th July" to make things acceptable.

From Percee, he says he took five days to arrive at Quebec—this is possible. But what year was that? It may be in connection with another trip—in Acadia for instance.

What makes me think that the first 20 lines of the Second Voyage (p. 86) do not belong to 1654 is that they terminate by these expressions: "The yeare before, the French began a new plantation [Onondaga] in the upper Country of the Iroquoits." We know that this new establishment of the French at Onondaga never took place before the summer of 1656.

Therefore, on his return to Three Rivers or Quebec this time, Radisson certainly meant the year 1657.

I believe the first twenty lines of the Second Voyage allude to an excursion of Radisson somewhere in Acadia and of which we have no record or clue.

In none of his writings does he speak of his doings between Rochelle (March ?, 1654,) and June, 1657—36 months. Those who said that he visited the Mississippi in 1654, or 1655, or 1656, have not shown any authority for such an assertion. Furthermore, Radisson leads us to believe by all we know of his writings that he never went West before 1658.

Radisson (p. 87) says that in the month of June [1657] an expedition left [Quebec] to go to the upper country [Onondaga] of the Iroquois, and that he joined it at Montreal (p. 95) where the company embarked finally. This was the 26th July, 1657.

Ascending the River St. Lawrence they arrived at Onondaga where Major Zacharie Dupuis had built a fort in 1656, and there resided with thirty or forty Frenchmen (pp. 98, 118).

During the fall they perceived that the Indians were ready to slaughter them (p. 123), but, considering that about fifty Onondagas were in Quebec, matters could not be pushed hastily. Nevertheless the French made up their minds to go at the first opportunity.

On the 20th of March, 1658, the Indians were treated at a banquet, after which they all went asleep and the French left without noise (pp. 126, 128) being fifty-three all told (pp. 130, 131). The snow covered their tracks, so that their departure was not noticed the next day.

Radisson (p. 133) states they were "six weeks" on the road, but (p. 134 he adds that they arrived at Montreal "about the last of March,"—the real date is the 3rd of April. A few days afterwards he arrived at Three Rivers.

Radisson, coming from the country of the Iroquois in April, 1658, says (p. 134) that he found at Three Rivers, Medard Chouart who had returned the year before from the lake of the Hurons with other Frenchmen. They decided to make the discovery of the great lakes mentioned by the Indians and which he says, "have seene before, for my brother made several journies when the fathers lived about the lake of the Hurrons, which was upon the border of the sea."

We know that Chouart was in the West in 1645 and 1646 and that he brought some specimens of copper and other ores to Quebec.

About the middle of June, 1658, Chouart and Radisson embarked at Three Rivers with two fathers, Jesuits, twenty-nine Frenchmen and some Indians returning West. The French made a great show of their bravery and of their ability to travel in the wild countries, and Radisson laughs at their bombast (p. 136).

When they came near Montreal Island they did not enter the River of the Meadows because they had to stop at the Town or Village called Villemarie or Montreal.

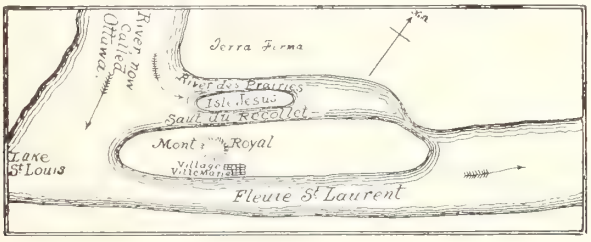
At Montreal they took eight Outaouas and two Frenchmen. "If not for that company, we had passed the river of the meddowes, which makes an isle of Mont royall and joines itselfe to the lake St. Louis, 3 leagues further than the hight of that name" (p. 137).

Riviere des Prairies was known by that name since 1615, and the name often applied to the whole riviere des Algonquins now called Ottawa.

After the Algonquins had left the vicinity of that river, in 1650, the name of Riviere des Prairies was the only one in use. About the year 1670 the French gave the name of Riviere des Outaouas to that stream, but the term Riviere des Prairies remained attached to the arm passing between Isle Jesus and the terra firma of the north shore. From 1636 to 1680, we find the name of riviere Saint Jean given to that same arm, in honor of Jean Nicolet the interpreter.

Radisson and the others entered the Ottawa by Lake St. Louis, and soon after the Iroquois were watching for them on Lake Two Mountains.

Again at the Long Saut the Iroquois troubled them and in an attack thirteen men were killed or taken prisoners by those enemies. All the Frenchmen returned to Montreal, leaving Chouart and Radisson alone with the terrified Indians (p. 141). Happily



the danger was over, and the party reached "a place called the lake of Castors, which is some 30 leagues from the first great lake" (p. 143). This first great lake is that of the Hurons.

In another place of his narratives Radisson (p. 90) says: "Neere the lake of the Hurrons some 40 leagues eastward there is another lake belonging to the Nation of the Castors, which is 30 miles about." This is lake Nipissing. The Nez-Perces, called also Amikoues, lived on the north of that lake, near the Nipissing people. Amikoue means Beaver or Castor. Nicolas Perrot and those of his days called the Amikoues—Castors, as their current name.

Radisson says that once at lake of the Castors, they had passed 60 portages.

This alone suffices to show that the voyage was made by the Ottawa river and not by the St. Lawrence.

The discharge of lake Castors is 30 leagues in length and has 8 falls or rapids in it, says Radisson (p. 144). In his trip of 1661 (p. 186), he calls that stream River of the Sorcerers and that name is the one by which the Nipissing nation was known to the French since 1613.

Again, this cannot apply to the Saint Lawrence route.

Coming out of French River (River of the Sorcerers) into Lake Huron, the party divided itself in two bands; seven canoes took the direction of the North Coast of Lake Huron, probably because those were Mississagues or Amikoues that would find their homes and families on that coast, and Sauteurs going as far as Saut Sainte Marie, the remainder, Outaouas, bound to Chagouamigon.

The second band, formed by Hurons, with Radisson and Chouart, inclined towards the South, following the shores of Georgian Bay. "We saw by the way the place where

the ffathers Jesuits had heretofore (1634-1650) lived, a delicious place, albeit we could but see it a farre off" (p. 145). Here again we are far away from Lake Erie and Lake Sainte Claire where some writers locate the present voyage.

On one of the Manitoualine Islands was the village of the Hurons—a small affair, if I am right in my conception of it. The two French travellers and their companions landed there for good (p. 146). These Huron families were evidently a debris of the nation that occupied Penetenguishene and Lake Simcoe until 1650, when the great dispersion took place. Others had taken refuge with the Mississagues, the Amikoues and the Nipissings, north of Lake Huron; then a large party went to Quebec. The Tobacco Hurons (who lived in the County of Bruce) had retired to Green Bay, then to Wisconsin, and they reached Pelee Island on the Mississippi about the year 1654. We shall find them hereafter.

There was a settlement of Outaouas in the vicinity, and the two Frenchmen went to visit them. The *Staring Hairs* (pp. 146, 148) were known by that name amongst the French since 1615. The Hurons called them *Ondataoua*—"the men of the woods"—and the French contracted the term into *Outaoua*.

Radisson makes no allusion to their connection with the Outaouas he had met that same year in his travels, and which belong to a large tribe who had left Manitoualine Island to follow the Tobacco Hurons already mentioned in 1653 or 1654.

Once amongst the Outaouas of Manitoualine Island—autumn of 1658—our two explorers heard that the Pouteouatamis residing on the northwest shore of Green Bay wished to see them in their villages, and they accepted the invitation to pass the winter at that place (p. 148).

There they made the acquaintance of some "Escoteke which signified fire (p. 148)" and "in the spring" they went to see these people.

I wonder if Radisson's original MS. reads—Escoteke. He must have written—Mascouteke. Mashcoutech in Algonquin language signifies barren land. Atsistagheronon in Huron-Iroquois tongue, means people of the fire.

A tribe of Iowas was called Mashcoutech by the Illinois.

The Mascoutins lived in the country between Milwaukee and the elbow of river Wisconsin—this description is sufficient for our purpose here.

They were known forty years before as occupying the territory between Detroit and Lake Michigan. The Iroquois chased them from there about the year 1636 and they moved to Fox River, in the vicinity of Green Lake County, Wolf River, etc. Their advance village in the direction of the West was about 9 miles from the elbow of River Wisconsin, that is to say, the Portage. In 1658, these people had 30 villages spread partly in the direction of Milwaukee and Chicago. In the *Relation des Jesuites*, 1658, they are said to occupy a territory "south-west quarter south, six or seven days' travel from St. Michel" (Pouteouatamis Mission). The *Relation* adds that the Iroquois Onondagas declared war against the Mascoutins, that year.

Radisson says positively that Chouart and himself went to the Mascoutins in the spring of 1659.

There, he says, they were told about the Sioux and their country, also the Christinos, a rambling people of the vicinity of Hudson Bay, who usually spent the winter south of Lake Superior. (pp. 146, 148-49).

Radisson clearly expresses his desire to know first the region of the South-west and it is visible that if he had not been prompted by that determination he would not have ascended Fox River. He was following the very steps of Jean Nicolet in 1634. In 1634 the Mascoutins had not yet been expelled from the State of Michigan, therefore I hardly think that Nicolet met that nation on the Fox River as two or three writers have said. The people who resided on the spot where Radisson found the Mascoutins had told Nicolet all about rivers Wisconsin and Mississippi. Whether Radisson knew that fact or not is immaterial—but he was prepared to push west.

The Mascoutins tried to induce him andChouart to go to the north (Lake Superior) with them, in order to trade with those who yearly went to the French of Lower Canada

to procure goods of European manufactures, but to no avail. He says (p. 149). "We desired not to go to the North till we had made a discovery in the South, being desirous to know what they did." What did the people of the South-west do and what was their country.

We shall see, hereafter, what our two explorers have done, and, I think we shall find no room in their *itineraire* in which we could place the exploration mentioned, pp. 167-169, commencing with the words "We weare 4 moneth—and finishing with "like those of the wild men" except that it belongs to the months of April-July 1659 when the two men were with the Mascoutins in their country.

It will be necessary, as soon as possible, to publish a second edition of Radisson voyage, but under the control of the savant not a mere typographer as in the case of the Prince Society volume of 1885. More than one problem could be solved if this was done.

Radisson saw Pelée Island, he saw the broad Mississippi "comparable a notre Saint-Laurent"—and probably, afterwards, during the winter of 1659-1660, he saw also the small Mississippi of the Sioux country about Mille Lac. But when did he reach the big River? I say—in April-July 1659.

It is apparent that the trip was made in canoes and not during the winter season.

Chouart was not with his brother-in-law during that remarkable exploration. It is not explained why. Therefore, I conclude that Chouart remained with the Mascoutins and, possibly, visited the surrounding region to Milwaukee and Chicago.

Oriniak or Orignac is the name of Moose in the Basque language. The Canadians have made it Orignal.

Ottanake is a misprint. Radisson must have written Ottauake. Perrot writes Outaoua.

Citrulles is Citrouilles in French.

Radisson saw Pelée Island "where the Hurrons with some Ottanake * * * had retired". This could not be during the winter of 1659-60 when he was amongst the Sioux west of Lake Superior.

The branch of "the great river" that "runns towards Mexico" is a remarkable observation. Ten years later it was believed that the Mississippi had its outlet on the Atlantic coast near Virginia.

At pages 167-169, Radisson says:

"We weare 4 moneths in our voyage wthout doeing anything but goe from river to river. We mett several sorts of people. We conversed wth them, being long time in alliance wth them. By the persuasion of som of them we went into ye great river that divides itselfe in 2, where the hurrons wth some Ottanake & the wild men that had warrs with them had retired. There is not great difference in their language, as we weare told. This nation have warrs against those of (the) forked river. It is so called because it has 2 branches the one towards the west, the other towards the South, wch we believe runns towards Mexico, by the tokens they gave us. Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tells them that they have warrs against a nation, against men that build great cabbans & have great beards & had such knives as we have had. Moreover they shewed a Decad of beads & guilded pearls that they have had from that people wch made us believe they weare Europeans. They shewed one of that nation that was taken the yeare before. We understood him not; he was much more tawny then they wth whome we weare. His arms & leggs weare turned outside; that was the punishment inflicted uppon him. So they doe wth them that they take, & kill them wth clubbs & doe often eat them. They doe not burne their prisoners as those of the northern parts.

We weare informed of that nation that live in the other river. These weare men of extraordinary height & bignesse, that made us believe they had no communication wth them. They live onely uppon Corne & Citrulles,* wch are mighty bigg. They have the fish in plenty throughout ye yeare. They have fruit as big as the heart of an Oriniak,

*Citrulles, pumpkins.

wch grows on vast trees wch in compass are three armefull in compasse. When they see litle men they are affraid & cry out, wch makes many come help them. Their arrows are not of stones as ours are, but of fish boans & other boans that they worke greatly, as all other things. Their dishes are made of wood. I have seene them, could not but admire the curiosity of their worke. They have great calumetts of great stones, red & greene. They make a store of tobacco. They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a whole day. This I have not seene, therefore you may believe as you please.

When I came backe I found my brother sick, as I said before. God gave him his health, more by his courage then by any good medicine, ffor our bodyes are not like those of the wildmen."

At page 149 there is a conflicting statement: First, Radisson says he will not go to the north before exploring the south. Next, he gets ready to go to the north and starts accordingly. Something is missing here—and it is the paragraphs of pages 167-69, relating the 4 months spent on the Mississippi..

Consequently, in July, 1659, Chouart and Radisson went down Fox River, through Green Bay, northwest coast of Lake Michigan, detroit of Mackinaw to the Saut (pp. 149-53).

After trading at the Saut, the Mascoutins asked Radisson to go back to the upper Fox River, but he says he was determined to see the Christinos (p. 153), and the Sioux because he had not yet met these people (p. 152).

Radisson here proposed to the Hurons that happened to be with him to go to see the Tobacco Hurons at the sources of Black River, but they refused (p. 152). The writings of the Jesuits affirm that Radisson went to visit the Hurons in question. If this is the case, he must have taken occasion of this trip to explore the north-west side of Green Bay—in October, as he mentions (p. 153).

At Saut Sainte-Marie they found some Frenchmen who, a few weeks afterwards, accompanied them to the Sioux Country (p. 155).

The two pages covering the winter season with the Sioux (at Kathio?) contain descriptions of wild animals, and the Christinos—Sioux difficulty. Not a word about the Mississippi—but once in Quebec—August, 1660—Radisson speaks of the great river, of the Sioux, &c., and this is sufficient for us.

The departure from the Sioux country, on the snow in (March?) 1660, and the voyage to the north-west angle of Green Bay (p. 157-8), is easy to follow.

There came a delay which caused Radisson to say "Our journey was broaken till next year & must per force" (p. 158). This means only that the refusal of the Indians to go to Canada had or could have had the effect to postpone the voyage to another year, but we shall soon see that it did not actually produce such a result.

The summer followed the spring time and, seeing that they could not proceed towards Canada, Radisson went hunting. Chouart stayed where he was (probably on one of the Islands at the mouth of Green Bay) and collected Indian corn, knowing as he did, by the experience of five or six voyages, that the "Wildmen" used to starve on the march between lake Nipissing and Montreal (p. 158).

In the preceding spring (1659) when he was with the Mascoutins in their country he certainly would not have thought of gathering food, for there was plenty of it near at hand and for general consumption.

On the 7th line from the bottom of page 158 commences a sentence: "The winter * * * againe," which belongs to the period when Chouart and Radisson lived with the Pouteouatamis, i. e. the winter of 1658-59.

The next passage is a surprise to me. Suddenly he says: "Every one had the desire to go to the ffrench" * * * (p. 159).

Radisson had full liberty to hunt "that summer" (p. 158), because the caravan only left for Canada on the 24th July.

When we weare ready to depart, heere comes strange news of the defeat of the Hurrons, which news, I thought, would put off the voyage" (p. 159). This was the siege of Long Saut on the Ottawa, a few miles above Montreal. There, some Hurons and Algonquins, with 17 Frenchmen (Dollard des Ormeaux, commandant) had stood during the whole month of May against 700 Iroquois. This news reached Lake Huron about the middle of July as it seems and nearly stopped the project of going to Canada that year.

Finally, Chouart, Radisson, and Indians from Green Bay went to the north coast of Lake Huron to join those of Chagouamigon and the Saut en route for Montreal (p. 162).

They arrived at Montreal on the 19th August. My last notes will be mailed to you in a day or two.

Ottawa, 30th November, 1902.

ADDITIONAL NOTES (CORRESPONDENCE).

Dear Sir:

I am looking for the Scratchers who lived at Green Bay and as they were mentioned by Radisson when he passed there in the spring of 1660, I think we shall all agree that they were not on the Mississippi. Radisson and Chouart first had a great desire to explore the south, but after it was done, seemed to have been convinced that the beaver country was north of Lake Superior. Acting on that impression they attached no importance to the Mississippi from a commercial standpoint. On their return to Three Rivers their principal occupation was to prepare themselves for an exploration of the North, as near as possible to Hudson Bay. This they did in 1661-63.

The result of the last expedition was to raise against them the opposition of merchants who had the monopoly of trade in their hands. The authorities at Quebec and Paris united with the merchants in opposition. Chouart and Radisson decided that they could not continue under such conditions and left Canada for the New England States.

Before this date the Pouteouatamis lived somewhere along the south shore of Lake Erie up to about 1636 when they were driven away by the Iroquois. They went to live on the large island situated at the entrance of Green Bay. Before 1655 they moved eight or ten leagues into the Bay in a northwesterly direction where Chouart and Radisson spent the winter of 1658-59 with them.

Coming from Lake Superior in the spring of 1660 Chouart and Radisson met those people and the Mantouek at the same place northwesterly from the entrance of Green Bay and from there went to the "first landing isle" in the mouth of Green Bay.

In June, 1658, Chouart and Radisson went by Ottawa River to Lake Nipissing, French River, Georgian Bay (south side), to one of the Manitoualine Islands, where the Hurons who traveled with them found their families. About a dozen Iroquois roving in the neighborhood were slain by Chouart, Radisson and the Hurons. On the way from Lower Canada to the mouth of French River there were some Amikoues, Outaouas and people of the Saut Ste. Marie with Chouart, Radisson, and the Hurons. These made a distinct band that went towards the north as Chouart and his companions turned south to circle Georgian Bay.

After a rest with the Hurons our two explorers visited the Staring Hairs (Outaouas) on the Great Manitoualine Island. This was in the fall of 1658. They heard that the Pouteouatamis were anxious to see them, and during the winter both went to Green Bay where the Pouteouatamis received them well.

Some Mascoutins came during the winter and said the French would cause their people much pleasure by visiting them. Therefore in the spring the two followed the

guides and went up Fox River to the place where the elbow of Wisconsin River leaves only a portage between the two streams. From there Radisson descended Wisconsin River, entered the Mississippi, visited Lake Pepin and saw Pelee Island and a number of other places. During four months (15th April, 15th Aug., 1659), he explored river after river and then returned to the Mascoutins where he found Chouart sick. The two companions must have left for the north quickly, as Radisson says the summer passed in contemplation of the scenery, flowers, birds and fruits of the Lake Michigan coast. He adds that the trip brought themto Saut Ste. Marie and that the Hurons who had voyaged with them refused to go to the sources of Black River to see those of their nation newly settled there after evacuating Pelee Island. He had also with him some Mascoutins who were desirous of going home with the two Frenchmen. In October Radisson went (with them?) as far as Green Bay of which he wrote a description.

On his return to Saut Ste. Marie, with Chouart and a few Frenchmen whom he met there, he went to Chagouamigon and saw the Outaouas settlement at that place. When the snow came they found themselves amongst the Isanti Sioux, who treated them well and they spent many weeks hunting in their company.

They left the Sioux country on snowshoes (racketts) undoubtedly in March, 1660, and reached Lake Superior, where they remained three weeks building canoes, after which they navigated eight days on a river which conducted them to Green Bay.

Then the trading flotilla 500 men strong left Green Bay and the Saut for Montreal July 24th, 1660, and arrived there August 19th.

I observe that in my articles published by *L'Echo de l'Ouest* I wrongly attribute to the Outaouas a residence at Kionconan which was not at least the Outaouas linked with the Hurons of Isle Pelee.

The joint Hurons-Outaouas went from Green Bay west, and then to the Mississippi river, Iowa, and stopped at Pelee Island (1655). No branch of them settled for any time at Kewena—the Outaouas that may have been there at that time did not belong to the refugees of Pelee Island.

Bands of Hurons and Ooutaouas—now and then in pretty large numbers—are to be found in Wisconsin and North Michigan during the years 1650-1660, but I wish to follow only that one said to have occupied Pelee Island. Therefore: 1651. They leave their own countries to go near North Michigan. 1652, Arrive at Huron Island. 1653, Retire to north-west of Green Bay to join the Pouteouatamis. They send three canoes to Canada in view of possible commercial intercourse. 1654, Their trading flotilla goes to Montreal. On the trip back they bring with them two Frenchmen, unknown by name. After reaching home their fort is threatened by the Iroquois, 1655. They emigrate to the sources of river Wisconsin, then they go down to the Mississippi and spent two years at Pelee Island, 1657. The Hurons settled at the sources of Black River and the Outaouas at Lake Superior, 1659. Early part of the summer, Radisson sees the place where the Hurons had resided at Pelee Island. Autumn of the same year Radisson and Chouart were with the Outouas at La Pointe, south shore of Lake Superior.

It is all right to put "Sault Sainte-Marie", after the old style of spelling, but we do not any more employ the useless letter 'l' for that purpose. Saut, in the modern or recent French manner is saut. Sauteurs follows the same rule. Sauteux has always been (with Saulteux) a practice with illiterate people, but sauteur is the correct word for a jumper.

The figure 8 corresponds to *ice* soft: oui, huit. Letter 'u' has a sound in French which is not known in English. You can always detect that a man is not a Frenchman by the way he employs the letter u, no matter if otherwise he speaks as well as a native Frenchman.

The letter N in French is dull. In English it is sonorous. Therefore "Manitoualin" is sufficient in English, but in French, in order to obtain the final sound, you

must write "Manitoualine." In the Algonquin language, as in English, letter N has a sonorous sound.

Chagouamigon often written in this maner by the French, was pronounced Chagouamigong or Chagouamikong. This is Algonquin also.

Champlain writes: "Algoumquin" and "Algoumekin." The syllable gou or goum must have had a long dull sound in the mouth of the Indians.

[The Ojibway people of Minnesota pronounce Chagouamigon as follows: Shau-ga-waum-ik-ong.]

Brule and Grenolles are mentioned by Sagard in 1624 as having seen the country west of Lake Huron. Consult *Brule* of C. W. Butterfield. We worked the question together. All the quotations are there in English as well as French.

I see by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, XVI. p. 2, that Hebbard is of opinion that Nicolet visited Wisconsin in 1638. I have not seen his work, but I can prove that Nicolet was at Three Rivers in 1635-41 without interruption, except once for a trip to France.

Jean de Lauzon was from the year 1629 the main active member of the company of the Hundred Partners (One Hundred Associates) who owned the monopoly of trade in New France. In 1651, finding that the business was going from bad to worse he managed to get his appointment as Governor General of the Colony, but in 1654 he realized the impossibility of ameliorating the situation, and I believe that it was this that prompted him to send two hired men to the west, in his own private interest that year (1654). In 1655 Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye arrived in Quebec with full authority from the creditors to control the fur trade, therefore, Lauzon was no more from that moment than a Governor for the king. This explains why the two men of Lauzon, on coming back (1656) refused to pay the tax of 25 per cent on their peltries. Lauzon left on his own responsibility early in the summer of 1656.

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

Can it be surely stated that the two unknown men who went west in 1654 and returned in 1656 with the Hurons, Outaouas, &c., were at Lake Superior and returned from there, or where did they return from (I presume they were the two servants (nameless) of Governor Lauzon)?

Answer—They were the two hired men of Governor de Lauzon. Why should they have gone to Lake Superior since they were put in the hands of the Huron-Outaoua party of Green Bay?

Their exploration must have been limited to Green Bay, but they acquired knowledge of divers nations of the west and north—possibly of the Mississippi, although no such mention is made.

Question—Is there any information whatever as to Radisson's whereabouts from Three Rivers, May 1654, to August, 1655?

Answer—I have nothing to show where Radisson was during that period.

This narrative (p. 86) does not show that he went straight from Rochelle to Three Rivers in the spring of 1654. On the contrary, he states that when he arrived there it was a year after the French had planted a settlement at Onondaga—and we know that the attempt in question took place during the summer of 1656.

Question—Did Radisson and Chouart espouse the Catholic religion?

Answer—I am not aware if these two men were ever of the protestant faith—on the contrary, they showed themselves most ardent Catholics, by all the acts of their early life, until 1664, when they left Canada. I cannot follow their religious ideas after that date.

Somebody one day wrote that they were huguenots and this simple and wrong assertion has spread like fire over the prairies.

Chouart and Radisson would have been the only huguenots in Canada—and in the service of the Ursuline Nuns and in that of the Jesuits as regards Chouart. Radisson was godfather in Three Rivers, and this alone would settle his case, but he baptized children in the woods and preached the Gospel there, according to the writings of the Jesuits, besides his own narrative.

I know of no ground for the assertion that the two men were Protestants.

Translation

"Sixty leagues higher than Mississippi and of Saut Saint Antoine, there is the lake of the Issaguy, otherwise called Buade, where are twenty-three villages by the name of Issaguy; and further on than the lake, the Octbatons; lower down, the Omtous,—all Sioux, and it may be said they have 4,000 warriors." (Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye: *Documents relatif a la Nouvelle-France*, I.258.)

This is extract from a memoire written in 1696, by Aubert, who was closely connected with the fur trade of Canada since 1652.

Radisson visited the Sioux country during the winter of 1659-60 (not 1658-9) and said nothing of any village or mode of living of the people; it is by the end of the winter of 1661-62 that he reached the town where he was surprised to find 7,000 men.

"Sieur" was not a title. It is the same as "Monsieur" of the present time.

"Des Groseilliers" was an ordinary nickname, or sobriquet in French. The Province of Quebec has 400,000 individuals bearing double names of that kind in our own days.

Radisson was at Prairie Island in 1659, not 1655. He was at the Sioux country in 1659-60, during the snow season, but he never spoke about the "Sioux villages" and "the tears and rejoicings." This he did in the spring of 1662, during his second winter with those Indians.

I admire the effrontery of Daniel Greysolon alias Duluth when he writes (1686) that no one before him had been in the Sioux country. Also when (1679) he planted the arms of the king at Kathio. He represented nobody except himself; he was a deserter, a coureur de bois violating the law. On his return to Quebec (1681) he was put in prison for that.

You have already noticed that the Jesuits Relations are silenced on the name of the individuals not belonging to their political party—Chouart and Radisson for instance, although they mention their doings and report after them.

Perrot does more than that: he never says anything about his predecessors.

All this accounts for the long time it took us to find out about the first explorers.

The letter of Lord Strathcona dated at London 12th inst., which I enclose herewith, you may retain.

If the signature of Radisson is in the Archives of the Hudson Bay House, you may expect a fac-simile of it in a few days, because Lord Strathcona is always in time for such historic data.

My paper for our Royal Society next May will cover 1650-1660 in the West, and will embody the voyage of Radisson and Chouart in 1658-1660.

In May, 1904, my paper to the same society will embody historic events for 1661-67, including Radisson and Chouart's voyage of1661-63. I will be prepared at any time to meet the objections of Mr. Campbell in regard to this last voyage.

Did I write you that Jean de Lauzon left New France in 1657? If so I made a mistake, as he embarked during the summer of 1656 soon after the return of his two servants from the west. He retired of his own free will as he realized that his usefulness was impaired. One of his sons succeeded him, finding the situation embarassing. He left for France in 1657, leaving Mr. d'Ailleboust to assume authority. Mr. d'Argenson arrived to relieve d'Ailleboust in July, 1658, so that Radisson and Chouart were two or three weeks on their way to the west at that date, having started while d'Ailleboust was still acting governor. BENJAMIN SULTE.

The Honorable J. V. Brower, President of the Quivira Historical Society

§ 6. ERRONEOUS OPINIONS.

NO ADEQUATE PROOF THAT RADISSON AND CHOUART CROSSED WISCONSIN ON SNOWSHOES FROM GREEN BAY TO THE MISSISSIPPI IN THE WINTER OF 1655 AND THENCE PROCEEDED IN CANOES TO PRAIRIE ISLAND.

At the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society held at St. Paul, January 13, 1902, Mr. Warren Upham delivered an address containing expressions of opinion concerning the original discovery of the area of Minnesota by Peter Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouart in the spring months of 1655. Those opinions were placed in writing, ordered printed and were about to be adopted as adequate history. Indeed, Mr. Upham was so positive concerning the results of his study of *Radisson's Narratives* that at page 83, *Kathio*, announcement was made that Radisson "must be accredited as the discoverer of Minnesota, first at Prairie Island in 1655," etc.

That statement is erroneous and I now expunge it from my Volume IV. above mentioned. After a careful investigation of the Prairie Island Region and a thorough re-examination of the historic record so far as the same is available at St. Paul, I have reached what is to me a sufficient conclusion that Mr. Upham's opinions concerning Radisson's explorations cannot be safely accepted or adopted as a part and portion of the history of the discovery of Minnesota. Before I proceeded to Prairie Island, where I fully expected to discover an extensive Huron Indian village site, Mr. Upham was requested to contribute for the pages of this volume an account of the results of his studies concerning the original discovery of the area of Minnesota. As soon as it was ascertained that no adequate Huron village site comparable with the descriptions given by Mr. Upham could be found on Prairie Island, he was requested to correct his manuscript to conform to such actual proofs as might be surely ascertained, thereby protecting the credibility and accuracy of Minnesota history. Mr. Upham has repeatedly and positively

refused to comply with that reasonable request, incidentally urging that his statement be published herein as originally written. I comply with that request in order to review for the benefit of Minnesota history the fallacies and inaccuracies which his article contains, similar to the review which he has himself extended against the published treatise on the same subject by the late Captain Russell Blakely. That manner of procedure is by me deemed to be the only substantial way to guard against some egregious errors which are about to be precipitated against the integrity and stability of our state history.

I quote from Mr. Henry C. Campbell's published articles as follows:

The Hurons, after leaving the Mackinac and Green Bay regions, went to the Mississippi River country, and some years before 1660 were at Bald [Prairie] Island, Lake Pepin. Is it possible that Radisson means he found them there? Did that journey of fifty leagues on snowshoes, beginning at a point west of Sault Ste. Marie, bring them to the mouth of Fox River? Was it up that River that they traveled for eight days? Page 99, *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1895.

Does Radisson mean to state that they crossed the upper peninsula of Michigan, ascended the Fox River and made their way to Bald Island? *Exploration of Lake Superior*, page 26.

Mr. Campbell has recently answered all these queries in the negative. Mr. Upham, considering Campbell's queries, assumed to answer them in the affirmative, notwithstanding their final rejection by the accomplished student who propounded them at an early date of study when he was in doubt as to the real facts concerning Radisson. For absolutely certain reasons to be stated in full, I refuse to endorse and concur in Mr. Upham's erroneous conclusions, which he submits for consideration, believing that the same are a menace to the stability of our permanent history, as his address bears the weight of an official utterance for a critical and intelligent people.

DISCOVERY OF MINNESOTA AND THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI.

By Warren Upham.

(This paper is based on an address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, January 13, 1902, with results of further studies continued to October, 1902.)

Earliest of white men to see Minnesota and the upper part of the greatest river of our continent, Groseilliers and Radisson, adventurous explorers and pioneers of the fur

trade in this northwestern country, had a most unique, picturesque, and checkered career. Contemporaneous history preserved a considerable record of their achievements, but gave only very scanty evidence that their travels extended to this state and to the Mississippi. Nor was this at first easily and clearly understood from the detailed narratives written by Radisson, which were published in 1885, after lying in manuscripts unknown to historians during more than two hundred years.

The title-page of this publication reads as follows: Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, being an Account of his Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from original Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. With Historical Illustrations and an Introduction, by Gideon D. Scull, London, England. Boston: Published by the Prince Society, 1885.

It is a small quarto book of 385 pages. The edition was limited to two hundred and fifty copies, one of which is in the Library of the Minnesota Historical Society, and another in the Duluth Public Library. By this book Groseilliers and Radisson are made known to the world as the first Europeans to reach the upper Mississippi and to traverse parts of Minnesota. It is a source of much regret, however, that Radisson is found to claim more discoveries than can be true. His narration, besides being very uncouth in style, is exceedingly deficient in dates, sometimes negligent as to the sequence of events, and even here and there discordant and demonstrably untruthful. Therefore, much discussion has arisen concerning its significance and historical value.

These remarkable men were brothers-in-law, close friends, and lifelong companions in various enterprises demanding great courage and endurance.

Medard Chouart, more commonly known by his assumed title Sieur des Groseilliers, was born in France, probably near Meaux, in 1621. At the age of twenty years, or perhaps three or four years earlier, he came to Canada. During several years, until 1646, he was in the service of the Jesuits as a layman helper in their missions to the Indians, and thus learned the Huron and Algonquin languages. Afterward he was a fur trader, probably making yearly trips to the country of the Hurons. In 1647 he married Helene, a daughter of Abraham Martin, from whom the historic Plains of Abraham at Quebec received their name. His wife died in 1651, and two years later he married Marguerite, a sister of Radisson. Thenceforward these brothers-in-law were closely associated in important explorations and extension of trade with the Indians of the Northwest and the region of Hudson bay.

Pierre Esprit Radisson was also born in France, probably at St. Malo, a seaport of Brittany. In 1651, at the age of only fifteen or sixteen years, he came to Canada, and lived with his parents at Three Rivers. Previously he had seen Paris, London, Italy, and Turkey, being probably a sailor. In England and from English sailors he may have acquired our language in boyhood, which he afterward wrote with such facility of colloquial and idiomatic expression.

The next year after his arrival in Canada, Radisson was captured by a roving band of the Iroquois, with whom he lived about a year in their country, on the Mohawk river. Escaping to Fort Orange (now Albany), he reached New Amsterdam (now New York), and sailed to Holland and thence to Rochelle, France. In the spring of 1654 he returned to Three Rivers, in Canada. This capitivity is the first of the four "voyages" of Radisson narrated in the published volume.

During the next six years, from 1654 to 1660, Groseilliers and Radisson made two expeditions for exploration and traffic in furs, going farther westward than any white man preceding them. In these expeditions, called voyages by Radisson, they passed beyond the upper great lakes, Michigan and Superior, penetrating to the area of Minnesota.

When they returned from the second western expedition, which had been undertaken without permission from the Governor of Canada, he imposed heavy fines upon them, and a duty of 25 per cent. on the value of their furs, together amounting, says Radisson, to 24,000 pounds. To seek redress for this injustice, Groseilliers went to

France, but his appeal was in vain. They next entered the service of Boston merchants, and sailed in a New England ship to Hudson strait in the autumn of 1663; but, on account of the lateness of the season, the captain refused to advance into Hudson bay, where they designed to establish trading posts.

In 1665, having laid their plans for trade in the Hudson Bay region before commissioners of the King of Great Britain, whom he had sent to New York and New England, Groseilliers and Radisson went with one of these commissioners, Sir George Cartwright, to England. Under the patronage of Charles II., they aided in founding the Hudson Bay Company, which received its charter in 1670. The commercial power which they would have preferred to bestow on their own country was thus given to Great Britain.

Radisson about this time married an English wife, the daughter of John Kirke, who became one of the directors of this company.

In 1674, because of a dispute with the Hudson Bay Company, Groseilliers and Radisson transferred their allegiance again to France, and through the next ten years were active in advancing French colonization and commerce. In their renewed loyalty, they endeavored to supplant the English in the Hudson Bay trade by building a French trading post on the Nelson river, near its mouth, and there captured a New England ship.

During the consequent negotiations, however, between the French and English governments, Groseilliers and Radisson considered themselves unjustly treated by the French court; and, being welcomed back by the directors of the Hudson Bay Company, Radisson once more entered their service. According to his own words, he then, in May, 1684, "passed over to England for good, and of engaging myself so strongly to the service of his Majesty, and to the interests of the Nation, that any other consideration was never able to detach me from it."

Groseilliers, on the contrary, declined to accept the salary or pension offered to him by the Hudson Bay Company, "twenty shillings per week, if he came from France over to Britain and be true." Here the brothers-in-law were separated, after thirty years of most intimate association. Nothing further is known of Groseilliers, and it seems probable that he died not long afterward in Canada.

The life of Radisson after this second desertion from France has been recently traced by Prof. George Bryce, through his researches in the archives of the Hudson Bay Company in London. Having sailed from England in May, 1684, Radisson traitorously took possession of the chief French trading post of Hudson bay, on the Hayes river, compelling his nephew, the son of Groseilliers, to surrender the post, which was under his command, with a vast quantity (twenty thousand) of valuable peltries that had been collected there. These furs were sold in England for 7,000 pounds. Radisson voyaged later, in 1685, and also in 1687 and 1688, to Hudson bay for this company, and he received a pension from it, affording a scanty means of living for himself and his family, until the beginning of the year 1710. As the pension then ceased, it is inferred that he died, probably in London or its vicinity before the next quarter date for payment, his age being seventy-four years.

The editor states, in his introduction to Radisson's narratives: "All his manuscripts have been handed down in perfect preservation. They are written out in a clear and excellent handwriting, showing the writer to have been a person of good education."

The president of the Prince Society, in his preface of the same volume, says: "The narratives contained in it are the record of events and transactions in which the author was a principal actor. They were apparently written without any intention of publication, and are plainly authentic and trustworthy. * * * The author was a native of France, and had an imperfect knowledge of the English language. The Journals, with the exception of the last in the volume, are, however, written in that language, and, as might be anticipated, in orthography, in the use of words, in the structure of sentences, conform to no known standard of English composition. But the meaning is in all cases clearly conveyed, and, in justice both to the author and reader, they have been printed *verbatim et literatim*, as in the original manuscripts."

By extracts given further on, the style of Radisson's writing will be well shown. Many parts of the narration where we should wish quite complete statement are given very briefly or omitted entirely. Other parts, on the contrary, have a fullness of garrulous detail which brings to view very vividly the many adventures, hardships and dangers encountered among the savages, with frequent descriptions of their manner of life in the wigwam, in their rude agriculture, in the hunt, on the warpath, and in councils of public deliberation. The details are everywhere consistent with the now well known characteristics of these Indian tribes, and they thus bear decisive testimony that the narrator had actual experience by living long among them.

Radisson had a very thorough familiarity with homely, apt and forcible expressions of our English language, such as could only have been acquired by living with English-speaking people, certainly not merely from school studies of books. It is possible, as before stated, that he had learned this language before going to Canada; but later, by his life in New England and in the service of Boston merchants during the years from 1661 to 1664, he had doubtless added greatly to his acquaintance with the vernacular.

The narratives of the four land expeditions, which are called by Radisson "voyages," appear to have been written in 1665, with a slight addition three years later, their purpose being to promote the interests of the two adventurers when first seeking alliance with the English for establishing trade with Hudson bay. The writer took especial care to show the great prospective commercial advantages of opening the fur trade with new regions at the north, and of gaining possession by colonies in the vast fertile country of Lake Michigan and the Upper Mississippi region.

That the routes and localities of the farthest western explorations by Groseilliers and Radisson, and of their councils with the Indians to establish the fur trade in the area of Minnesota, have not been earlier fully studied out and ascertained, is doubtless attributable mainly to the deficiencies of Radisson's narratives; but also must in part be ascribed to the limitation of their publication, in an edition of two hundred and fifty copies, of which only two are in Minnesota. Only three or four students of history in this state have made careful examination of this book; and these studies, with those of other historians in Wisconsin and elsewhere, have gradually brought us to the results stated in the present paper. Even within the past year a very essential clue for identification of the locality of greatest interest in the second of these expeditions to Minnesota has been supplied by Hon. J. V. Brower (in *Kathio*, the fourth volume in this series of Memoirs, 1901, page 43), who finds that Knife lake and river, in Kanabec county, were so named because there the Sioux of the Mille Lacs region first obtained iron and steel knives from white men, thence also receiving themselves the name of Isanti or Knife Sioux, by which they were known to Du Luth and Hennepin.

The two western expeditions are paralleled by the *Jesuit Relations*, which were yearly reports of the progress of missionary work, including also many incidental references to other Canadian history. Another contemporary record, the *Journal of the Jesuits* for the year 1660, contains a very interesting detailed statement of the return of these travelers and traders from their second trip west, accompanied by three hundred Indians, and bringing a rich freight of furs. The Relations for 1660 mention two Frenchmen returning at this time, with similar details of their expedition, as the return of two Frenchmen was also noted by the Relations for 1656; but in both instances they refrain from giving the names of those daring and successful explorers. In the Journal we are informed that Groseilliers was one of the two returning from the second of these expeditions.

Henry Colin Campbell, of Wisconsin, who has very carefully studied the chronology of this subject, writes in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1896: "Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it would not be easy to find three distinct accounts of one expedition into a strange country that tallied more closely than do the accounts of that voyage to Lake Superior which we find in the *Jesuit Relations*, the

Journal of the Jesuits, and Radisson's *Journal*. The return of Radisson and Groseilliers from their second trip, the one to Lake Superior, in August, 1660, is thus fully proven."

The duration of the first expedition west, in which Radisson claims to have traveled far southward, to a latitude where "it never snows nor freezes, but is mighty hot," he asserts to have been three years; but the Jesuit Relations state distinctly that the expedition which returned in 1656 had occupied only two years. In this discrepancy we must certainly rely on the Relations as truthful, for reasons to be presently more fully explained. When the fictitious year, as it may be called, is eliminated from the expedition, taking away the pretended journey to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, the remaining narration of Radisson for the two years actually spent in the region of Lake Michigan and on Prairie island seems entirely trustworthy, bearing many and indubitable evidences of its truth.

Comparing this narration with the Jesuit Relations, Campbell well summarizes their general agreement as follows: "Our two Frenchmen, like the nameless Frenchmen of 1656, visited the Pottawatamies and the Maskoutens, the latter in the interior of Wisconsin. Radisson and Groseilliers, like the two nameless Frenchmen, were delayed in returning the first spring by the Indians. Their return, likewise, caused great joy in the colony and salvos of artillery were also fired in their honor from the battlements of Quebec. We have already observed that the whereabouts of Radisson and Groseilliers from 1654 to 1656 can be accounted for in no other way than by making them identical with the two nameless Frenchmen; and moreover, Radisson and Groseilliers, if they were the two nameless Frenchmen, would have had a year in which to rest, after their return, as Radisson says that they did."

In writing of the western expeditions, which most interest us because they extend to the area of Minnesota, Radisson seldom exactly noted the date of any event by the month and never by the number of the year. Much confusion has arisen, therefore, among historians in determining the years when these expeditions took place.

Some authors, as Scull, the editor of the Prince Society's volume, Dionne, the librarian of the Legislature of Quebec, Dr. Edward D. Neill, R. G. Thwaites, and Prof. George Bryce, have held that the first western expedition of Groseilliers and Radisson terminated in 1660, being the second of the two mentioned in the Jesuit Relations of 1656 and 1660. They consequently refer the second western trip narrated by Radisson to the years 1661-63, or to 1662-64.

Others, as Campbell, before quoted, the late Alfred J. Hill, and Hon. J. V. Brower (in Volume VII. of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections), and the late Captain Russell Blakeley (in Volume VIII of the same series), with most ample reasons consider the two western voyages of these explorers to be identical with those reported in the Relations, terminating respectively in 1656 and 1660. This view is so clearly set forth by Campbell that it must be confidently accepted; indeed, the accurately known records in these narratives and other contemporaneous writings prove it conclusively.

Radisson's captivity with the Iroquois, called his first voyage, was, as we have seen, in 1652 and 1653, his first and second years after coming to Canada. Having escaped to France and thence come back to his home at Three Rivers early in 1654, he set out in the summer of that year with his brother-in-law on their first voyage to the far west, from which they returned in 1656.

During the interval following, before the second voyage west, Radisson went to the Onondaga settlement in the central part of the area of New York state; and this expedition, called by him "the Second Voyage made in the Upper Country of the Iroquoits," occupied nearly a year, from July, 1657, to March or April, 1658. It is placed second by Radisson in his series of narrations; and he explicitly says that the earliest western expedition was undertaken afterward.

He may have considered the geographic relationship more important than that of time, therefore placing the two Iroquois trips together, and the two in the far west

likewise together; but he ought not to have said definitely, in so many words, that the first western trip followed the second among the Iroquois. By this arrangement of his writings, with the accompanying misstatement, Radisson misled Scull and others in respect to their chronologic order. It is to be remembered, however, in palliation of the falsehood, that a high regard for continual veracity in historical authorship, especially among travelers and explorers in the New World, was less common then, and was more likely to pass undetected for a long period, than at the present time.

The title or caption given by Radisson at the beginning of the narrative of the first western expedition reads: "Now followeth the Auxoticiat Voyage into the Great and filthy Lake of the Hurrons, Upper Sea of the East, and Bay of the North." It occupies pages 134 to 172 in the publication by the Prince Society. No title is given for the second voyage west, which ensues in pages 173 to 247; and we must extend the references to the Upper Sea (Lake Superior) and the Bay of the North (Hudson Bay), to apply to that latest western expedition. The great importance of the discovery of the upper Mississippi river was neglected in the title, doubtless because the more northern region of Hudson bay, easy to be reached by English ships, promised larger and earlier pecuniary profits in commerce.

Groseilliers and Radisson, voyaging in birch canoes with a small company of Hurons and Ottawas, came to Lake Huron by the usual route of the Ottawa river and Lake Nipissing. Their Indian escort then divided, and a part went with the French travelers southward around Georgian bay and Lake Huron to Bois Blanc island and the Strait of Mackinac. The first autumn and winter were spent in visiting from tribe to tribe in the region of Mackinac and Green bay. "I liked noe country," says Radisson, "as I have that wherein we wintered; ffor whatever a man could desire was to be had in great plenty: viz. staggs, fishes in abundance, & all sort of meat, corne enough." He says of Lake Huron:

> The coast of this lake is most delightful to the minde. The lands smooth, and woods of all sorts. In many places there are many large open fields where in, I believe, wildmen formerly lived before the destruction of the many nations which did inhabit, and took more place then 600 leagues about.

Lake Michigan, with its surrounding forests and prairies and Indian tribes, appeared even more fascinating to Radisson's enrapturned and prophetic vision. He wrote of it in an ecstasy:

> We embarked ourselves on the delightfullest lake of the world. I took notice of their Cottages & of the journeys of our navigation, for because that the country was so pleasant, so beautifull & fruitfull that it grieved me to see that the world could not discover such inticing countrys to live in. This I say because that the Europeans fight for a rock in the sea against one another, or for a sterill land and horrid country, that the people sent heere or there by the changement of the aire ingenders sicknesse and dies thereof. Contrarywise those kingdoms are so delicious & under so temperat a climat, plentifull of all things, the earth bringing foorth its fruit twice a yeare, the people live long & lusty & wise in their way. What conquest would that bee att little or no cost; what laborinth of pleasure should millions of people have, instead that millions complaine of misery & poverty!

So carried away was our author by his zeal to show to England the excellence of this fertile and vast interior of our continent that he yielded to the temptation to describe as actually seen by himself the far southward continuation of the same country, beyond the limits of his travels but known to him by accounts of the roving Indians. To give time for this pretended southern exploration, Radisson here interpolated a fictitious year.

Attentively perusing the narrative, I am impressed with the lack of details of journeys and experiences during the time between the first and second winters of Radisson's three years. He seems to have fabricated the story of that year, drawing his general descriptions of the southern half of Lake Michigan and the vast region beyond

from what he could learn in conversation with the red men. He understood the Algonquian languages, and these people and their southern neighbors had occasional intercourse and travel from tribe to tribe, so that among the aboriginal ornaments and amulets in Minnesota and Manitoba were sea shells from the Gulf of Mexico. The implied voyage of Groseilliers and Radisson far down the Mississippi may therefore be rejected.

It is known with certainty that Radisson returned from France, after his Iroquois captivity, in the spring of 1654; and it seems also certain that he and Groseilliers returned to Quebec from their first western expedition in 1656. Therefore it appears clearly impossible that this expedition could have occupied a longer time than the two years which the Jesuit Relations accredit to it. The meagerness, vagueness, and misconceptions of the narration for the fictitious year will partly appear by the following quotation:

We meet with several nations, all sedentary, amazed to see us, & weare very civil. The further we sejourned the delightfuller the land was to us. I can say that in my lifetime I never saw a more incomparable country, for all I have ben in Italy; yett Italy comes short of it, as I think, when it was inhabited, & now forsaken of the wildmen. Being about the great sea [Lake Michigan or the Gulf of Mexico?], we conversed with people that dwelleth about the salt water, who tould us that they saw some great white thing sometimes upon the water, & came towards the shore, & men in the top of it, and made a noise like a company of swans; which made me believe that they weare mistaken, for I could not imagine what it could be, except the Spaniard; and the reason is that we found a barill broken as they use in Spain.

Evidently Radisson intended here, in saying that they found a Spanish barrel, to convey the impression that they came to the Gulf coast; as also he almost surely meant by "the great sea." It is very significant, however, that he does not here allude to the great river Mississippi, on which route they would necessarily have come to that coast and returned from it by several weeks of laborious canoeing. This narrative is thus like the playbill announcing "the tragedy of Hamlet, the character of the Prince of Denmark being left out."

Radisson continues in description of the people there, and of the fish, birds, beasts, and various fruits, with similar erroneous comprehension, based on hearsay, which he somewhat misconstrued. It seems probable that a part of his information of the fauna, notably his reference to "shee-goats very bigg," belongs to the Rocky mountains, rather than the country of Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, which he is endeavoring to describe. His idea that the tribes of the south, bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, habitually sent war parties each year into the country of the Sioux and the Crees, the latter living, then as now, north and northwest of Lake Superior, presents most decisive internal evidence that the narration of this year was gathered only from hearsay, for which, as we shall see, Radisson had splendid opportunity in his very long hunting excursion with the savages during the summer of 1655, starting from and returning to Prairie island.

When we come to his account of that next year, following the apparent fiction so vaguely and blunderingly told, he resumes his accustomed definiteness of details, telling us that in the early spring, before the snow and ice were gone, which forbade the use of canoes, these two Frenchmen, with about a hundred and fifty men and women of the native tribes, traveled almost fifty leagues on snowshoes, coming to a river side where they spent three weeks in making boats. This journey was, if I rightly identify it, from the vicinity of Green bay, in eastern Wisconsin, across that state to the Mississippi, reaching this river near the southeast corner of Minnesota or somewhat farther south, perhaps coming by a route not far from the canoe route of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Thence they voyaged eight days up the river on which their boats had been made, to villages of two tribes, probably in the vicinity of Winona, where they obtained meal and corn, which supplied this large company until they "came to the first landing isle."

The description indicates that the voyageurs passed along Lake Pepin and upward to the large Isle Pelée (or Bald island), now called Prairie island, on the Minnesota side of the main river channel above Red Wing. On this island, which derived its names, both in French and English, from its being mostly a prairie, a large number of Hurons and Ottawas, fleeing from their enemies, the Iroquois, had recently taken refuge, and had begun the cultivation of corn. Their harvest the preceding year, in newly worked land, was small; but much corn would be needed for food during the long journey thence to Quebec with beaver skins, which canoe voyage, requiring a month or more, Groseilliers and Radisson wished to begin soon after their arrival at the island. They were obliged to remain till the next year, and Groseilliers spent the summer on Prairie island and in its vicinity, one of his chief objects being to provide a large supply of corn for the return journey. Meanwhile Radisson went with hunting parties, and traveled "four months * * * without doing anything but go from river to river." He was enamored of the beauty and fertility of the country, and was astonished at its herds of buffaloes and antelopes, flocks of pelicans, and the shovel-nosed sturgeon, all of which he particularly described. Such was the first year, 1655, of observations and exploration by white men in Minnesota, and their earliest navigation of the upper part of the Mississippi river. Accompanied by several hundred Hurons and other Algonquins, and carrying a most welcome freight of furs, Groseilliers and Radisson returned to Montreal and Quebec in August, 1656. Their stay at Prairie Island covered the period from April or May, 1655, to June, 1656, about fourteen months.

My identification, as thus stated, of Radisson's "first landing isle," according with a suggestion of Campbell, differs widely from the view taken by the late Captain Blakeley in his paper presented about five years ago to the Minnesota Historical Society, published in Volume VIII. of its Historical Collections. He thought that island to be probably in Lake Saganaga, on the northern boundary of Minnesota. Therefore it becomes needful to give here quite explicitly the six chief reasons for my assertion in favor of Prairie island. These may be received as conclusive, while yet indulging much leniency toward other views, because even the Indian geographic names, and also the direction of journeys, as northward, or southward, are generally wanting in the crude account of these earliest explorations in a previously unknown region.

First, the geographic features and distances of the route from Green bay or Lake Winnebago to the Mississippi, and up this river to Prairie island, seem to me harmonious with Radisson's narration; but, on the contrary, the route around Lake Superior and northward to Saganaga lake differs greatly from what is narrated of the snowshoe and canoe journeys.

Second, many of the Hurons and Ottawas, escaping from their foes, the fierce Iroquois, are known, by other and contemporaneous historical testimony, to have fled to the Mississippi and settled at Prairie island about this time; and the narration shows that the Indians who are said to have come newly there were Huron refugees. These Indians never penetrated to the far northern and cold country beyond Lake Superior.

Third, the cool climate and predominantly rocky land of our northern boundary from Lake Superior to the mouth of Rainy lake, with the altitude of Saganaga lake, 1434 feet above the sea, and the small size and very rocky surface of its many islands, make corn-raising there, on a large scale, quite impossible; whereas the extensive Prairie island, 670 to 720 feet above the sea, and situated three and a half degrees farther south, with an easily cultivated and very productive alluvial soil, is by nature most admirably adapted for the primitive agriculture of the aborigines and for their most valuable crop, Indian corn.

Fourth, Radisson distinctly says that in starting toward the great river and its "first landing isle," they bade farewell to the Indians of the Sault St. Marie and of the North.

Fifth, he also states that in the region of that island beavers were not so plentiful as "in the north part," showing clearly that they were then farther south than during the preceding winter, which they had spent about the northern end of Lake Michigan.

Sixth, the journey of return from that island was first to the south and then to the north. This description applies to the canoe voyage from Prairie island southward down the Mississippi, and then northward up the Wisconsin river and down the Fox river to Green bay. It could not describe any route of return from Lake Saganaga.

No other locality on or near the northern border of Minnesota can satisfy the requirements of the narration; nor can any other island in the Mississippi, or in any river of this region, meet the requirements so satisfactorily as Prairie island, which is the largest in all the course of the Mississippi. The identification seems to me to stand in the clearest light, without a shadow of reason for distrust.

As I traversed this historic island in early May of last year, at nearly the exact season of the arrival of these Frenchmen almost two and a half centuries ago, my thoughts went back to that springtime, and I endeavored to picture their coming with a hundred and fifty Indians to join those who a year or two before had come there, attracted by the fitness of the land for corn-raising. The island was then a great prairie as now, and its sedentary Indian population may have usually exceeded its present number of white inhabitants. Instead of the neighboring railways and villages of civilization, all the Mississippi basin from Lake Itasca to the Gulf was uninhabited by white men. But it had many Indian villages, many cultivated fields yielding abundantly, and unlimited supplies of fish and game. The native tribes had not yet obtained the firearms before which the buffaloes, elk, and deer, and most of the wild fowl, have fallen and vanished away. Their traffic with Europeans was begun by these two daring explorers and traders.

Groseilliers at this date was thirty-four years old, and was well experienced in the hazardous life of a pioneer Indian trader, prudent, persevering, and successful. His comrade was scarcely twenty years old, full of courage, resourceful, fond of wild adventure, and eager to see new regions. If we compare their enterprises to a boat or ship, Groseilliers was like the ballast to keep the craft right side up, while Radisson was like the sail, to give speed and distance.

The part of Radisson's narration giving the journey to Prairie island and the events of their stay is as follows:

* * * Att last we declared our mind first to those of the Sault, encouraging those of the North that we are their brethren, & that we would come back & force their enemy to peace or that we would help against them. We made guifts one to another, and thwarted a land of allmost 50 leagues before the snow was melted. In the morning it was a pleasur to walke, for we could goe without racketts. The snow was hard enough, because it freezed every night. When the sun began to shine we payed for the time past. The snow sticks so to our racketts that I believe our shoes weighed 30 pounds which was a paine, having a burden uppon our backs besides.

We arrived, some 150 of us, men & women, to a river side, where we stayed 3 weeks making boats. Here we wanted not fish. During that time we made feasts att a high rate. So we refreshed ourselves from our labours. In that time we tooke notice that the budds of trees began to spring, which made us to make more hast & be gone. We went up the river 8 days till we came to a nation called Pontonatenick & Matonenock; that is, the scrattchers. There we got some Indian meale & corne from those 2 nations, which lasted us till we came to the first landing Isle. There we weare well received againe. We made guifts to the Elders to encourage the yong people to bring us downe to the ffrench. But mightily mistaken; ffor they would reply: "Should you bring us to be killed? The Iroquoits are every where about the river & undoubtedly will destroy us if we goe downe, & afterwards our wives & those that stayed behinde. Be wise, brethren, & offer not to goe downe this yeare to the ffrench. Lett us keepe our lives." We made many private suits, but all in vaine. That vexed us most that we had given away most of our merchandises & swapped a great deale for Castors [beavers]. Moreover they made no great harvest, being but newly there. Beside, they weare no great huntsmen. Our journey was broken till the next yeare, & must per force.

That summer I went a hunting, & my brother stayed where he was welcome & putt up a great deale of Indian corne that was given him. He intended to furnish the wildmen that weare to goe downe to the ffrench if they had not enough. The wild men did not perceive this; ffor if they wanted any, we could hardly kept it for our use. The winter passes away in good correspondence one with another, & sent ambassadors to the nations that uses to goe downe to the french, which rejoiced them the more & made us passe that yeare with a greater pleasur, saving that my brother fell into the falling sicknesse, & many weare sorry for it. That proceeded onely of a long stay in a newly discovered country, & the idleness contributs much to it. There is nothing comparable to exercise. It is the onely remedy of such diseases. After he languished awhile God gave him his health againe.

Here let us pause briefly to consider the attainments of the aborigines of America in agriculture, the oldest of the industrial arts that lead from savagery toward civilization. Among the several notable additions to the world's important food resources which were received by the discovery of this western continent, including potatoes, tomatoes, the most common species and varieties of beans, the pumpkin, the pineapple, and the domesticated turkey, no other ranks so high in value as maize or Indian corn, which was cultivated in abundance by all the tribes of the eastern and southern United States, from the Atlantic to the upper Mississippi and quite across the continent to California, as also farther south in Mexico and Central America, and onward to Peru, Chile, and the River La Plata.

The Hurons, especially, were a people whose large dependence on agriculture, with proportional deficiency as wandering hunters or marauding warriors, had made them an easy prey of the ferocious and pitiless Iroquois. One branch of this people was called the Tobacco tribe or nation, because they were remarkably addicted to the cultivation and use of tobacco, which also indeed was cultivated, though in less degree, by all the tribes, and was another gift from America to the world. Groseilliers and Radisson had noted the extensive deserted fields of the Hurons, depopulated by raids of their Iroquois enemies, about the south part of Georgian bay, the great eastern arm of the lake which bears their name. Wherever their struggling remnants migrated, to the Illinois Indians on the Illinois river, to the Upper Iowa river, to Prairie island, and soon afterward to the interior of northern Wisconsin and to Chequamegon bay, they carried superior knowledge and practice of agriculture, for which reason they occupied this beautiful island of the Mississippi a few years, until compelled to abandon it by the frequent attacks of the neighboring Sioux.

Coming back from this digression, we see Groseilliers and Radisson making all preparations for the long journey of their return to Lower Canada. Many of the Indians must necessarily accompany them, and their canoes will be well laden with valuable furs, mostly of the beaver or castor. But the Hurons and other Indians who must be the Frenchmen's escort and retinue are still fainthearted, dreading ambuscade and attack on their way by the fierce Iroquois who had so recently devastated all the Huron country. The earnest arguments of Groseilliers seem insufficient, until Radisson, by a bold assertion that he will start alone, at the same time suiting the action to the word, turns the tide of the council to approve and authorize the dangerous journey. Radisson narrates this in picturesquely graphic and dramatic style, bringing this great council clearly before us as follows:

The desire that every one had to goe downe to the ffrench made them earnestly looke out for castors. They have not so many there as in the north part, so in the beginning of spring many came to our Isle. There weare no lesse, I believe, then 500 men that weare willing to venter themselves. The corne that my brother kept did us a world of service. The wildmen brought a quantity of flesh salted in a vesell. When we weare ready to depart, heere comes strang news of the defeat of the hurrons, which news, I thought, would putt off the voyage. There was a councell held, & most of them weare against the goeing downe to the ffrench, saying that the Iroquoits weare to barre this yeare, & the

best way was to stay till the following yeare. And now the ennemy, seeing himselfe frustrated of his expectation, would not stay longer, thinking thereby that we weare resolved never more to go downe, and that next yeare there should be a bigger company, & better able to oppose an ennemy. My brother and I, seeing ourselves all out of hopes of our voyage, without our corne, which was allready bestowed, & without any merchandise, or scarce having one knife betwixt us both, so we weare in a great apprehension least that the hurrons should, as they have done often, when the ffathers weare in their country, kill a frenchman.

Seeing the equipage ready & many more that thought long to depart thence for merchandise, we uppon this resolved to call a publique councell in the place; which the Elders hearing, came and advised us not to undertake it, giving many faire words, saying, "Brethren, why are you such ennemys to yourselves to putt yourselves in the hands of those that wait for you? They will destroy you and carry you away captives. Will you have your brethren destroyed that loves you, being slained? Who then will come up and baptize our children? Stay till the next yeare, & then you are like to have the number of 600 men in company with you. Then you may freely goe without intermission. Yee shall take the church along with you, & the ffathers & mothers will send their children to be taught in the way of truth of the Lord." Our answer was that we would speake in publique, which granted, the day appointed is come. There gathered about 800 men to see who should have the glorie in a round. They satt downe on the ground. We desired silence. The elders being in the midle & we in their midle, my brother began to speake. "Who am I? am I a foe or a friend? If I am a foe, why did you suffer me to live so long among you? If I am a friend, & if you take so to be, hearken to what I shall say. You know, my uncles & brethren, that I hazarded my life goeing up with you; if I have no courage, why did you not tell me att my first coming here? & if you have more witt than we, why did not you use it by preserving your knives, your hattchetts, & your gunns, that you had from the ffrench? You will see if the ennemy will sett upon you that you will be attraped like castors in a trape; how will you defend yourselves like men that is not courageous to lett yourselves be catched like beasts? How will you defend villages? with castors' skins? how will you defend your wives & children from the ennemy's hands?"

Then my brother made me stand up, saying, "Shew them the way to make warrs if they are able to uphold it." I tooke a gowne of castors' skins that one of them had uppon his shoulder & did beat him with it. I asked the others if I was a souldier. 'T hoes are the armes that kill, & not your robes. What will your ennemy say when you perish without defending yourselves? Doe not you know the ffrench way? We are used to fight with armes & not with robes. You say that the Iroquoits waits for you because some of your men weare killed. It is only to make you stay untill you are quite out of stocke, that they dispatch you with ease. Doe you think that the ffrench will come up here when the greatest part of you is slained by your owne fault? You know that they cannot come up without you. Shall they come to baptize your dead? Shall your children learne to be slaves among the Iroquoits for their ffathers' cowardnesse? You call me Iroquoit. Have not you seene me disposing my life with you? Who has given you your life if not the ffrench? Now you will not venter because many of your confederates are come to visit you & venter their lives with you. If you will deceave them you must not think that they will come an other time for shy words nor desire. You have spoaken of it first, doe what you will. For myne owne part, I will venter choosing to die like a man then live like a beggar. Having not wherewithall to defend myselfe, farewell; I have my sack of corne ready. Take all my castors. I shall live without you." & then departed that company.

They weare amazed of our proceeding; they stayed long before they spoake one to another. Att last sent us some considerable persons who bid 'us cheare up. "We see that you are in the right; the voyage is not broaken. The yong people tooke very ill that you have beaten them with the skin. All avowed to die like men & undertake the journey. You shall heare what the councell will ordaine the morrow. They are to meet

privatly & you shall be called to it. Cheare up & speake as you have done; that is my councell to you. For this you will remember me when you will see me in your country; ffor I will venter meselfe with you." Now we are more satisfied then the day before. We weare to use all rhetorique to persuade them to goe downe, ffor we saw the country languish very much, ffor they could not subsist, & moreover they were afraid of us. The councell is called, but we had no need to make a speech, finding them disposed to make the voyage & to submitt. "Yee women gett your husbands' bundles ready. They goe to gett wherwithall to defend themselves & you alive."

What a scene was that great public council for a poet or painter, to depict Groseilliers and Radisson pleading before eight hundred Indians. It is a day in the middle or later part of June. On each side, some two miles away, rise the wooded bluffs that inclose the valley and its islands. In a beautiful prairie area the motley crowd of savages are sitting or lying on the ground. At the center of the assemblage these two courageous Frenchmen are striving to persuade their dusky auditors to set out on the first commercial venture connecting this region with civilization.

As Groseilliers and Radisson now leave Isle Pelée, or Prairie island, we need to give only a short account of their further fortunes. The narrative is very brief for the first two-thirds of their journey of return to Quebec, until they have passed beyond Lake Nipissing.

Our equipage was ready in 6 days. We embarked ourselves. We weare in number about 500, all stout men. We had with us a great store of castors' skins. We came to the South. We now goe back to the north, because to overtake a band of men that went before to give notice to others. We passed the lake without dangers. We wanted nothing, having good store of corne & netts to catch fish, which is plentyfull in the rivers. We came to a place where 8 Iroquoits wintered. That was the company that made a slaughter before our departure from home. Our men repented now they did not goe sooner, ffor it might be they should have surprised them. Att last we are out of those lakes.

On the lower Ottawa river, after passing the Calumet rapids, the voyageurs were harassed by small parties of Iroquois, who endeavored to bar their advance but were defeated. In speaking of one of their encounters, against "16 boats of our ennemy," Radisson enumerates the Indian tribes represented in his company.

* * * We begin to make outcryes & sing. The hurrons in one side, the Algonquins att the other side, the Ottanak [Ottawas], the panoestigons [Saulters, Ojibways], the Amickkoick [Beaver Indians], the Nadonicenago [Sinagos, an Ottawa band], the ticacon, and we both encouraged them all, crying out with a loud noise.

After the latest encounter with the Iroquois, in running rapids of "that swift streame * * * the bad lacke was," says Radisson, "that where my brother was the boat [over]turned in the torrent, being seaven of them together, weare in great danger, ffor God was mercifull to give them strength to save themselves. * * * My brother lost his booke of annotations of the last yeare of our being in these foraigne nations. We lost never a castor, but may be some better thing. It's better [that one] loose all then lose his life." The place of this misfortune, as we learn in the description of the return from the second western expedition, was the Long Sault of the Ottawa, a series of rapids extending nearly six miles next below Grenville, about halfway between Ottawa and Montreal. Many times will Minnesota historians regret that the diary of Groseilliers at Prairie island was thus lost. Instead, we have only what Radisson remembered and wrote for his English patrons about ten years afterward.

The arrival of this company, with their large stock of furs, brought great rejoicing to the French settlements, which had languished, on account of the failure of the fur trade, since 1649-50, when the Hurons, with whom principally this trade existed, were mostly killed, and the others driven from their country, by the Iroquois and by famine following their cruel warfare. Radisson wrote:

* * * I give you leave if those of mont Royall weare not overjoyed to see us arrived where they affirme us the pitifull conditions that the country was by the cruelty of these cruell barbars, that perpetually killed & slaughtered to the very gate of the ffrench fort. * * * We came to Quebecq, where we are saluted with the thundring of the guns & batteryes of the fort, and of the 3 shipps that weare then at anchor, which had gon back to france without castors if we had not come. We weare well traited for 5 dayes. The Governor made guifts & sent 2 Brigantins to bring us to the 3 rivers. * * *

The parallel narration of this expedition in the Jesuit Relation of 1655-56 supplies some very interesting and important additional details (The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, edited by R. G. Thwaites, Vol. XLII., 1899, pages 219-223):

On the sixth day of August, 1654, two young Frenchmen, full of courage, having received permission from Monsieur the Governor of the Country to embark with some of the Peoples who had come down to our French settlements, began a journey of more than five hundred leagues under the guidance of these Argonauts,—conveyed, not in great Galleons or large oared Barges, but in little Gondolas of bark. The two Pilgrims fully expected to return in the Spring of 1655, but those Peoples did not conduct them home until toward the end of August of this year, 1656. Their arrival caused the Country universal joy, for they were accompanied by fifty canoes, laden with goods which the French come to this end of the world to procure. The fleet rode in state and in fine order along our mighty river, propelled by five hundred arms, and guided by as many eyes, most of which had never seen the great wooden canoes of the French,—that is to say, their Ships.

Having landed, amid the stunning noise of Cannon, and having quickly built their temporary dwellings, the Captains ascended to Fort saint Louys to salute Monsieur our Governor, bearing their speeches in their hands. These were two presents, which represent words among these Peoples. One of the two gifts asked for some Frenchmen, to go and pass the Winter in their Country; while the other made request for some Fathers of our Society, to teach all the Nations of those vast Regions the way to Heaven. They were answered, in their own way, by presents, and were very willingly granted all that they asked. But, while those assigned to this great undertaking are making their preparations, let us learn some news from the two French Pilgrims and from their hosts.

* * * we were told of many nations surrounding the Nation of the Sea [the Winnebagoes] which some have called "the Stinkards," because the people formerly lived on the shores of the Sea, which they call Ouinipeg, that is, "stinking water." The Linlouek [Illinois], their neighbors, comprise about sixty Villages; the Nadouesiouek [Sioux] have fully forty; the Pouarak [Assiniboines], at least thirty; and the Kiristinons [Crees] surpass all the above in extent, reaching as far as the North Sea. The Country of the Hurons, which had only seventeen Villages, extending over about as many leagues, maintained fully thirty thousand people.

* * * these two young men have not undergone hardships for naught in their long journey. Not only have they enriched some Frenchmen upon their return, but they also caused great joy in all Paradise, during their travels, by Baptizing and sending to Heaven about three hundred little children, who began to know, love, and possess God, as soon as they were washed in his blood through the waters of Baptism. They awakened in the minds of those Peoples the remembrance of the beauties of our Faith, whereof they had acquired the first tincture in the Country of the Hurons, when they visited our Fathers living there, or when some of us approached the Regions bordering on their Country.

The Indians in the council at Prairie island, and also Radisson in his speech there, mentioned the baptism of children; and we may readily believe that it was done by Groseilliers, who during the years 1641-46 had been a lay helper of the Jesuits in their

very successful Huron missions. If the "booke of annotations" by Groseilliers had not been lost, as before related, we should doubtless have therein many further details of the year spent on Prairie island.

In comparing the tribal names given by Radisson with those in the Jesuit Relation, it is noticeable that the latter is more explicit, containing definite information of the Illinois, Sioux, Assiniboines, and Crees, who were either unknown or less fully known to Radisson, so far as appears in his narration. For these tribes the Jesuit writer probably obtained information, as the Relation itself indicates, from some of the Indians in the company that came with Groseilliers and Radisson, learning more perhaps than these French traders knew. Their retinue doubtless included Indians who had traveled far beyond their own tribal areas, and who might inform the Jesuits concerning the distant southern and northern Indians.

The tribes and bands enumerated by Radisson had been driven from their former homes around lake Huron and at the Sault St. Marie, and were doubtless each represented in the large company of refugees, called by Perrot (as quoted on following pages) the Hurons and Ottawas, who, as he related, fled to the Mississippi river and settled temporarily on Prairie island and in its vicinity. The Jesuit Relation of 1659-60 states that before their coming to this upper part of the Mississippi, they had visited "the great Nation of the Alimiwec" [Liniouek, Illinois], the populous Algonquian tribe of sixty villages on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers.

When it is remembered that our Frenchmen spent more than a year at Prairie island, and that they had "good correspondence" and "sent ambassadors to the nations that use to go down to the French," it appears possible that there were also some who then went for the first time, representatives of the Illinois, and of the Sioux, Assiniboines, and Crees, coming long distances, respectively, from the south, west, and north, bringing their furs, and joining the retinue of these traders, escorted by the Hurons and Ottawas, in the long trip east of about two thousand miles.

It required probably about seven weeks to go from Prairie island to lower Canada; and a longer time was used in going back, propelling the canoes against the current of the Ottawa and Mattawa rivers, along the shores of Georgian bay, lakes Huron and Michigan, and Green bay and through the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, to the Mississippi and the vast western prairies.

Why were not the names of Groseilliers and Radisson given in the Jesuit Relations? Much is told of their expeditions by these missionary reports for 1656 and 1660; but their names, though surely well known to the Jesuit writer, are not stated. We may conjecture that the writer had some distrust of their continuing in loyalty to the church or to the government. On their part, the brothers-in-law concealed, as much as they could, the discoveries that they had made, because, as Radisson says, their chief purpose, to reach "the bay of the north," had not been attained. They eagerly looked forward to another expedition, which they made in 1659 and 1660, coming by the way of lake Superior to the Mississippi far above Prairie island, but quite surely not reaching Hudson bay.

Let us now revert again to the year 1655 and ask, Among what tribes, and how far from Prairie island, did Radisson go in his hunting excursions with the savages during the summer while Groseilliers was raising corn? The account of his wanderings that summer is given after the main narration of the expedition and its return, and is as follows:

We weare 4 months in our voyage without doeing any thing but goe from river to river. We mett severall sorts of people. We conversed with them, being long time in alliance with them. By the persuasion of som of them we went into the great river that divides itselfe in 2, where the Hurons with some Ottanake & the wild men that had warrs with them had retired. There is not great difference in their language, as we weare told. This nation have warrs against those of [the] forked river. It is so called because it has 2 branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the South, which

we believe runs towards Mexico, by the tokens they gave us. Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tells them that they have warrs against a nation, against men that build great cabban; & have great beards & had such knives as we have had. Moreover they shewed a Decad of beads & guilded pearls that they have had from that people, which made us believe they weare Europeans. They shewed one of that nation that was taken the yeare before. We understood him not; he was much more tawney than they with whome we weare. His armes & leggs weare turned outside; that was the punishment inflicted upon him. So they doe with them that they take, & kill them with clubbs & doe often eat them. They doe not burne their prisoners as those of the northern parts.

We weare informed of that nation that live in the other river. These weare men of extraordinary height & biggnesse, that made us believe they had no communication with them. They live onely uppon Corne & Citrulles [pumpkins], which are mighty bigg. They have fish in plenty throughout the yeare. They have fruit as big as the heart of an Oriniak, which grows on vast trees which in compasse are three armefull in compasse. When they see little men they are affraid & cry out, which makes many come help them. Their arrows are not of stones as ours are, but of fish boans & other boans that they worke greatly, as all other things. Their dishes are made of wood. I having seene them, could not but admire the curiosity of their worke. They have great calumetts of great stones, red and greene. They make a store of tobacco. They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a whole day. This I have not seene, therefore you may believe as you please.

When I came backe I found my brother sick, as I said before. God gave him his health, more by his courage then by any good medicine, ffor our bodyes are not like those of the wildmen * * *

It is evident, from this account, that Radisson and his companions went southeastward and hunted on the east side of the Mississippi, going by portages from one river to another until they reached the Illinois, "the great river that divides itself in two," so called apparently because it is formed by the junction of the Des Plaines and the Kankakee, each an important canoe route. The Jesuit Relation of 1659-60, before cited, informs us that the Hurons and Ottawas retreated thither and were kindly received by the Illinois tribe, from whom then, and during Radisson's hunting trip, might be learned all that he narrates of the "forked river" and the people there and beyond. We should accordingly identify the "forked river" as the Mississippi, running on "towards Mexico" after receiving the great Missouri, the route of many aboriginal canoe expeditions "towards the west." But Groseilliers and Radisson were quite unaware that their own river at Prairie island is the main eastern stream of their "forked river," being, in its farther course and as to the area of its basin, the largest of North America.

Radisson recorded what he gathered from the Indians of the Illinois river concerning those on the Missouri and farther south and southwest. Indeed, according to his own narrative of his captivity among the Iroquois, he had there heard several years previously (from an Iroquois who had ranged far and wide in the west, to the same "river that divides itself in two") a part of the information that he gives as learned in this expedition, of gigantic men, and of trees that bear fruit as big as the heart of an elk, thought by Captain Blakeley to refer to pine cones with edible nutlike seeds, which are used as food in Mexico and California.

It need not cause surprise that Radisson learned much concerning regions far beyond the limits of his own travels, and that he was thereby tempted to add a false year in each of the expeditions to the west, telling what he heard from the Indians as if it was actually seen by himself. He first learned of the Illinois river and of the country beyond while he was a captive in the region of central New York. Later he claimed to have gone to the Gulf of Mexico, though probably never nearer to it than central Illinois; and, last of all, in the narrative of the second western expedition, he claimed to

have traveled from the west part of lake Superior to Hudson bay, though probably not advancing so far as to the northern boundary of Minnesota.

Radisson's writings contain a great amount of detailed information concerning the Indians with whom he dealt, roamed through the woods or prairies, canoed along the streams and lakes, and lived in their wigwams and tepees. His pages of glowing and minute description, recitals of addresses and parleys by the Indians and his brother and himself in the rude councils and festivals with the savages, and indeed the whole spirit and tone of his narrations, are redolent with the freshness and wildness of nature and of mankind in all this great western region as it was two and a half centuries ago.

Gathering throughout these narrations the varied threads of information of the Indians, and weaving them to present, as in a tapestry, the picture of savage life, the delineation of the Indian's character, his habits of thought and action, we can restore, in imagination, those bygone times when the aboriginal possessors of the country drained by the Hudson and the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi, dwelt at peace in their several tribal areas, or often carried war and devastation against their neighbors and even to distances of hundreds of leagues.

In 1649-50 the Iroquois had conquered the Hurons, and within two years later the Ottawas; and in 1654 they nearly exterminated the Eries, acquiring undisputed possession of all the country about lake Erie. During seventy-five years, from 1625 to 1700, their raids of conquest and subjugation covered a wide region from New England to the Mississippi. The Jesuit fathers, Radisson, and all writers on the history of this period, abound in testimony of the fear with which the other Indians and French regarded these foes. The journeys of the fur traders and missionaries to and from the far west were practicable only by way of the Ottawa, Mattawa, and French rivers; for the route through lakes Ontario and Erie was debarred by the Iroquois. To undertake safely the trip down the Ottawa, with a year's collection of furs, required a very large escorting company of Indians, so formidable that the usual ranging parties of the Iroquois would not dare to attack them. Several hundred Indians from the upper Mississippi and lakes Michigan and Superior made this trip with Groseilliers and Radisson on their return from both their western expeditions. Ten years afterward, in 1670, more than nine hundred Indians accompanied Perrot and four other Frenchmen when they returned from the west to Montreal.

Exiled from their ancestral homes by the attacks of the Iroquois, many of the Hurons and Ottawas fled, in a long wandering, to lake Michigan, to the Mississippi river, and last to the western part of lake Superior. Their migrations most strongly confirm the identification of Radisson's "first landing isle" as Isle Pelée, or Prairie Island. The final argument, therefore, in this presentation of evidence that Groseilliers and Radisson were the first white men in Minnesota and first to see the upper Mississippi, in 1655, is the history of these Indian refugees.

According to the Jesuit Relation of 1655-56, before cited, the principal bands of the Hurons, living in seventeen villages within an area of no greater extent than about fifty miles, had formerly numbered fully 30,000 people. From that home country southeast of Georgian bay, where they had depended largely on agriculture, especially the raising of corn, being mostly neither expert hunters nor practiced warriors, the survivors from the Iroquois attacks fled to Bois Blanc island and Mackinac, and to the region of Green bay and the Fox river.

The Tobacco nation, a more western band of this people, who had been so named for their diversified agriculture, notably including the plentiful cultivation of tobacco, went onward to the friendly Illinois tribe on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. Thence, in company with some of the similarly exiled Ottawas, who had lived farther northwest, on lake Huron, they sought a permanent refuge and settlement in the region of the Upper Iowa river, nearly on the south line of the present state of Minnesota. Disappointed in finding no forests there, they advanced farther up the Mississippi, to

Prairie island, in the midst of a beautiful country of forests and prairies, which they chose for their new home.

But in an evil day hostilities were begun by these Hurons against the Sioux, whom they thought to be at a disadvantage from their not having firearms. The greater numbers and superior prowess of the Sioux enabled them soon to harass the Hurons and Ottawas so that they again relinquished their homes and fled into the forest of northwestern Wisconsin, on the neutral ground between the Ojibways, Menominees, and other tribes on the east, and the warlike Sioux on the west.

Nicolas Perrot, who came in 1683 to the Mississippi, by way of the Wisconsin river, and was engaged in trade with the Indians thence northward to lake Pepin during several years, until 1689 or later, is the authority for the temporary settlement of the Hurons and Ottawas on Isle Pelée, now Prairie island, where Groseilliers and Radisson spent more than a year with them. He wrote a treatise entitled, in translation from the French, "Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America." This was preserved in manuscript until 1864, when it was published by the Jesuit father, J. Tailhan, with important editorial notes and a very elaborate index.

Perrot had trading posts on lake Pepin, exerted a great influence over the Indians of Wisconsin, eastern Iowa, and southeastern Minnesota, and derived from them, and from the Indians and French of Chequamegon bay, the account of the wanderings of the Ottawas and Hurons, with their stay of a few years on Prairie island. It is given by his Memoir in its chapter XV, entitled, as translated, "Flight of the Hurons and Ottawas to the Mississippi." This statement is very important in its confirmation of the view that Radisson's "first landing isle" was no other than Prairie island; and therefore it seems desirable to give here a close translation of it, which is as follows:

When all the Ottawas were scattered toward the lakes, the Saulteurs [Ojibways] and Missisakis [who had lived on the north shore of lake Huron] fled to the north, and then to Kionconan [Keweenaw], for the sake of hunting; and the Ottawas, fearing that they would not be sufficiently strong to resist the incursions of the Iroquois, who would be informed of the place where they had made their settlement, fled for refuge to the Mississippi river, which is called at the present time the Louisianne. They ascended this river to the distance of a dozen leagues or thereabout from the Wisconsin river, where they found another river which is called the river of the Iowas [the Upper Iowa, heading in the southeastern part of Mower county, Minnesota]. They followed it to its source, and there encountered tribes who received them kindly. But in all the extent of country which they passed through having seen no place suitable for their settlement, by reason that there was no timber at all, and that it showed only prairies and smooth plains, though buffaloes and other animals were in abundance, they resumed their same route to return upon their steps; and, after having once more reached the Louisianne, they went higher up.

They were not long there without separating to go to one side and the other for hunting: I speak of one party only of their people, whom the Sioux encountered, took, and brought to their villages. The Sioux, who had not any acquaintance with firearms and other instruments which they saw in their possession, themselves using only knives of stone, as of a millstone, and axes of chert cobbles, hoped that these new tribes who had approached them would share with them the commodities which they had; and, believing that they were supernatural, because they had the use of this fire which had no resemblance with all that they had, like the stones and other things, just as I have said, they brought them to their villages, and afterward restored them to their own people.

The Ottawas and Hurons received them very well in their turn, without however giving them large presents. The Sioux came back to their people, with some little things which they had received from the Ottawas, distributed a part to the other villages of their allies, and gave hatchets to some and a few knives or awls to others. All these villages sent deputies to the Ottawas, where, as soon as they had arrived, they commenced, following their custom, to shed tears upon all whom they met, for indicat-

ing to them the unrestrained joy that they had in having found them, and to implore them to have pity upon them, by sharing with them this iron which they regarded as a divinity.

The Ottawas, seeing these people weep on all who presented themselves before them, considered it in scorn, and regarded them as people much inferior to themselves, incapable even of making war. They gave to them also a trifle, be it knives or awls, which the Sioux showed that they esteemed very much, raising their eyes to heaven and blessing it for having conducted these tribes into their country, who would be able to procure for them so powerful means to make an end of their poverty. The Ottawas, who had some fowling-pieces, fired them, and the noise that they made frightened them so much that they imagined that it was the lightning or the thunder, of which they were masters to exterminate whomsoever they would.

The Sioux made a thousand expressions of affection to the Hurons and Ottawas everywhere they were, manifesting to them all subservience possible, to the end of moving them to compassion, and deriving from it some benefit; but the Ottawas had for them so much less of esteem, as they persisted in placing themselves before them in these attitudes of humiliation. The Ottawas decided finally to choose the island named Pelée for their settlement, where they were some years in peace. They there received often the visits of the Sioux. But a day arrived when the Hurons, being on the hunt, encountered some Sioux, whom they killed. The Sioux, in sorrow for their comrades, did not know what had become of them; they found some days afterward the dead bodies from which they had cut off the head. They returned to their village hastily to bring this sad news, and encountered some Hurons on the road, whom they took as prisoners. When they had arrived among their people, the chiefs released them and sent them back to their tribes. The Hurons, having so much audacity as to imagine that the Sioux were incapable of resisting them without weapons of iron and firearms, conspired with the Ottawas to attack them and make war upon them, in order to drive them from their country, and for themselve be able to extend farther the range of their hunting. The Ottawas and Hurons joined themselves together and marched against the Sioux. They believed that as soon as they appeared, they would flee; but they were very much deceived, for they resisted their attacks, and even repelled them, and, if they had not retreated, they would have been entirely defeated by the great number of the horde who came from other villages of their allies for their help. They pursued them even to their settlement, where they were constrained to make a poor fort, which did not permit them to be capable to make the Sioux turn back, even though they did not dare to attack it.

The continual raids which the Sioux made upon them obliged them to flee. They had acquaintance with a river which we call the Black river; they entered it, and, having arrived where it takes its source, the Hurons there found a place suitable for fortifying themselves and establishing their village. The Ottawas pushed farther, and marched to lake Superior, and fixed their abode at Chequamegon. The Sioux, seeing their enemies departed, dwelt in peace without pursuing them farther; but the Hurons were not content to stop there; they formed some expeditions against them, which produced little effect, drew upon themselves on the part of the Sioux frequent raids, and obliged them to quit their fort for going to join the Ottawas at Chequamegon, with a great loss of their people.

Parts of the foregoing, and further extracts from Perrot's work, copied in French and translated by Alfred J. Hill, with his own and Tailhan's notes, were published by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1867, and were reprinted in 1889, entitled "The Geography of Perrot, so far as it relates to Minnesota and the Regions immediately adjacent" (Historical Collections, Vol. II., pp. 200-214).

The narrative continues with warfare carried on by the Hurons, in the region of Chequamegon bay, against the Sioux of the country west and south. In 1670-71 these refugees, fearing a Sioux attack and massacre, abandoned their settlements on that

bay, going again to live on the Manitoulin and Mackinac islands, in and adjoining the north part of lake Huron, whence, about eighteen years before, in 1652-53, this large part of the exiled Ottawa and Huron tribes had started on their travels to the Illinois, Mississippi, and Upper Iowa rivers, Prairie island, northern Wisconsin, and Chequamegon bay.

To my mind Perrot's narration is a complete proof that these refugees spent a few years on Prairie island, where, as has been shown, Groseilliers and Radisson visited them in 1655-56. Three years later, in 1659, the Hurons were found on the lakes at the sources of the Chippewa river, while the Ottawas had come to Chequamegon bay, or at least were there the next spring, as we learn in Radisson's account of the second western expedition.

It is clearly known that the Hurons and Ottawas occupied Prairie island only four or five years, coming in 1653 or 1654, and departing probably in 1658, or perhaps a year earlier. Radisson says that in 1655 they had newly come to Prairie island. Before the summer of 1659 the Hurons had temporarily located at a lake in northern Wisconsin, thought to be Lac Courte Oreille, whence some of them, with Ojibways, went during that summer to Montreal and Three Rivers, afterward returning in the company of Groseilliers and Radisson. In harmony with Perrot's statement that the Ottawas came earliest to Lake Superior, Radisson indicates that in 1659-60 they were apparently just establishing themselves at Chequamegon bay; for he says that in the spring of 1660 they built a fort on the long beach which incloses this bay at the northeast, now called Oak point.

Not much of our thanks or praise can be awarded to Groseilliers and Radisson for being the earliest Europeans on the upper Mississippi river, and in the area of Minnesota; for they failed to discern the important geographic significance of the great river flowing southward in the interior of the continent, and they designedly concealed from their countrymen, so far as possible, all knowledge of their travels. If we compare this inland region with the much grander discovery of America, the expeditions of these first pioneers seem somewhat like the unfruitful voyages of the Northmen, reaching our northern shores and not understanding the value of their work, long before the purposeful first voyage of Columbus, which, though indeed with the belief that the islands found were merely outliers of Farther India, gave to civilization a new hemisphere. With similar intelligence and patriotism came Joliet and Marquette, to whom, second on the upper Mississippi, in 1673, belongs rightly, as I believe, the highest honor of its discovery, because they made known what they found. Let the glory of praise and gratitude, which during more than two hundred years has been accorded to them, continue with undiminished luster in the minds of future generations. Likewise, let the names of Du Luth and of Hennepin and his companions be held in lasting honor for their being the first of white men to make known their explorations in Minnesota.

But we should also commemorate the work, so long concealed from historians, by which Groseilliers and Radisson earlier reached this mighty river and first saw the fair country that nearly two centuries later became our territory and state. The first of white men within the area of this commonwealth, their landing at Prairie island in the spring of 1655, with a large company of Indians, who were met by others of their exiled tribesmen already establishing their homes on the island, is a subject well worthy of the historian, poet, and artist. It deserves a conspicuous memorial in our new capitol. When that noble building shall be fully completed, I trust that this scene of the first French traders and their Indian escort arriving at Isle Pelée will be appropriately represented in a painting there.

EDITORIAL REVIEW.—On this seventeenth day of January, A. D. 1903, at the library rooms of the Minnesota Historical Society in the Capitol building at St. Paul, I made a final and earnest personal appeal to

Mr. Warren Upham, the Secretary of the Society, and author of the above article, to correct the many errors into which he has fallen in its preparation before it went to press. The urgent request for correction was the last of numerous similar interviews which have occurred between us since our joint visit to Prairie Island on the twenty-second day of last April, at which time we absolutely failed to discover any definite indications of any kind concerning an ancient Huron village site comparable with Radisson's description of the great gathering of Indians at the place he called "the first landing isle."

Mr. Upham has persistently refused to make any correction whatsoever to conform with known facts concerning Radisson's and Chouart's movements from 1654 to 1662, between which dates they made discovery of the area of Minnesota westward from Lake Superior.

I reluctantly proceed to announce my own objections to the adoption of Mr. Upham's expressed views as embodied in his essay before the same shall become erroneously promulgated as a part of our accepted and adopted historical record unsustained and unsupported by ascertained and established facts.

1. I have failed to discover any substantial declaration, written or printed, definitely indicating that Peter Esprit Radisson, who was in Europe in the early part of 1654, arrived at or near Fox River, Wisconsin, the same year. His movements during the years 1654 and 1655, after he arrived in New France from Europe, are unknown, unaccounted for and enveloped in uncertainty and obscurity. Any statement declaring that he certainly proceeded direct from Europe to Prairie Island between the late spring months of 1654 and the early spring of 1655 (conducting a snowshoe voyage across the present area of Wisconsin as an incidental necessity), unsupported by any definite corroborative evidence except the vague falsifications contained in the book entitled *Radisson's Narratives*, is insufficient historical data upon which to base the history of the discovery of Minnesota. The fact that two nameless persons proceeded westward from Quebec in 1654 is not definite corroborative evidence. The names of those two persons are unknown to history.

2. I believe that the two nameless persons mentioned in the *Jesuit Relations* as having gone to the West in 1654 with Huron Indians were

servants of Governor Jean de Lauzon and therefore nameless. It cannot be determined, in the absence of the private and official papers of Governor de Lauzon, that Radisson and Chouart were those two servants. Until that is successfully and positively proved, no writer can be indulged in any assumed privilege to guess that the two nameless persons mentioned were Peter Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouart and call his surmise established history, to an extent that it is recommended as a basis for the display of a historic painting in the new Capitol of Minnesota as a "conspicuous memorial."

3. There are serious probabilities that the written manuscripts of Radisson were variously transposed, undoubtedly before they were copied for publication by the Prince Society. When such transpositions are read and digested as referring to any stated voyage when they were written to describe the events occurring at some other remote locality, it is unsafe and impolitic to hastily adopt them as intact previous to the time when all the facts can be made available. The question of transposition of the manuscripts must be determined as a prerequisite necessity to a complete and established acceptance.

4. Some extraordinary condition or necessity would have certainly occurred to induce Radisson and Chouart with a small band of Indians to cross the region from Green Bay to the Mississippi during the winter months of 1655 on snowshoes, when the Fox and Wisconsin rivers between those two points constituted a permanent canoe route of travel. No such condition or necessity has been or can be established as having occurred in 1655, indicating that a forced march was necessary immediately preceding the opening of the boating season. I believe it may hereafter be established that the voyage on snowshoes was from the Kathio Region to Lake Superior several years later than 1655. The necessity for their return from the Mille Lac locality eastward created the extraordinary condition which induced Radisson and Chouart to resort to the tedious labor of a snowshoe voyage. Following is the language which Upham twists into a palpable misrepresentation:

> We made guifts one to another, and thwarted a land of allmost 50 leagues before the snow was melted. In the morning it was a pleasur to walke, for we could go without racketts. The snow was hard enough,

because it freezed every night. When the sun began to shine we payd for ye time past. The snow stickss to our racketts that I believe our shoes weighed 30 pounds, wch was a paine, having a burden uppon our backs besides. We arrived, some 150 of us, men & women, to a river side, [Ontonagon River?] where we stayed 3 weeks making boats. Here we wanted not fish. During that time we made feasts att a high rate. So we refreshed ourselves from our labours. In that time we tooke notice that the budds of trees began to spring, wch made us to make more hast and be gone. We went up yt river 8 dayes till we came to a nation called Pontonatenick & Matonenock; that is the scrattchers. There we got some Indian meale & corne from those 2 nations, wch lasted us till we came to the first landing Isle. There we weare well received againe. *Radisson's Voyages*, pages 157–158.

The last sentence is absolutely fatal to the proposition that such language can be construed as an acceptable description of the original discovery of Minnesota at Prairie Island because it shows that Radisson on his snowshoe tour and canoe voyage up a river was *returning* to the first landing isle, not going to it the first time. No such nation as "the scrattchers" has ever been known in the ethnologic history of Minnesota.

5. Does the Minnesota Historical Society propose to force upon its sister society at Madison, Wisconsin, as a part of the history of that state, an alleged snowshoe voyage urged in the foregoing paper as certainly having been made by Radisson and Chouart in 1655 from Green Bay to the Mississippi? The historians of that state have rejected the proposition and it has been declared to be a presumption to force upon them an unwelcome page in their history, which lacks any confirmation whatsoever of a reliable character. The opinion of one writer unsupported by sufficient confirmatory evidence, cannot and ought not to unduly influence the history of the discovery of the area of Wisconsin and Minnesota, especially so in the event that all the facts concerning Radisson have not become fully known so that we can advisedly and discreetly complete our history harmoniously with a neighboring society.

6. At page 162, *Radisson's Voyages*, there occurs the following language:

We weare in number about 500, all stout men. We had wth us a great store of castors' skins. We came to the South. We now go back

to the North, because to overtake a band of men that went before to give notice to others.

At page 94 of this *Memoir* Mr. Upham says:

> This description applies to the canoe voyage from Prairie island southward down the Mississippi and then northward up the Wisconsin river * * * .

When his attention was called to the fact that for about 100 miles from the mouth of Wisconsin River up that stream the direction is not northward but eastward, his reply was that the directions stated by him were sufficient. They are absolutely insufficient when applied to Radisson's statement above quoted, for purposes of acceptable identification.

At no place in *Radisson's Voyages* can there be found any description of Lake Pepin, through which he would pass in case he ever saw Prairie Island from its southern approaches, yet he is taken up through that dangerous body of water for canoeing purposes and again down through it with as much assurance as though he had actually recorded its name.

8. Nadoneceronon (Dakota) Indians had possession of Prairie Island and its vicinity from the unknown date when they forced the Iowas to evacuate that region before Radisson's time until the date when Red Wing's village was burned near Barn Bluff and the Sioux Half Breed scrip compromise was authorized to be adopted by authorities of the United States. How comes it that Radisson does not mention Dakota Indians as residents of his "First Landing Isle" or its vicinity if that place was Prairie Island? Sioux Indians have resided there continuously for over 300 years and they were in sufficiently powerful force there in 1655 to soon afterward easily and quickly put to rout and drive off the mediocre band of Huron refugees who were tolerated as visitors, if we are to accept without reservation the legendary information which Perrot learned of thirty years later. That writer prepared his written statements over fifty years after the occurrences he described, if I am correctly informed. Memories are defective and there is a lingering doubt in my mind concerning the correctness of Perrot's information relating to the Huron occupancy of Prairie Island. The Dakota Indians were habitually accustomed to indulge in exaggerated statements of their own

achievements, and Perrot might have been the victim of one of those descriptions of self-importance concerning the Prairie Island fight between the Dakotas and Hurons.

9. The colored chart facing the title page of this *Memoir* is sufficient proof that Prairie Island and both sides of the Mississippi near it has heretofore been a central locality for a populous Indian occupancy. The histories which apply to that locality indicate positively that the Hurons, Sauteurs, Outaouas and Ojibways were never able to wrest possession of that region from the Dakotas. We look in vain for any reason why the Hurons, Sauteurs and Outaouas should or would gather a great store of castors' skins at Prairie Island when it is an established fact that the beaver country was at Lake Superior and westward from there and not at Prairie Island.

10. The colored chart referred to also proves that the locality charted was not a "road of war" but a place of permanent settlements with which Radisson would be in contact had he and Chouart lived there over a year, and by that acquaintance he would have surely recorded a description of the Dakotas who were there in force in 1655. Search his book from page to page and no mention of Dakota Indians can be found as having been resident at "The First Landing Isle." It is insufficient to say that Radisson did not know they were Dakotas, for those Indians had been known since 1634, and a keen, shrewd observer like Radisson would not live a year in one place and not know and state who was there. His very first observation would have been to secure knowledge of all the opportunities which surrounded him, and those opportunities came from his contact with the people he discovered, their habitats and character.

11. Some one should object to any wanton disregard of our sacred memory for councilors of the Minnesota Historical Society who have passed away. If they were in error in their essays let us surround their faults, if they had any, with the evergreens of our salient memory and silent regret, rather than to announce to the living world in terms of disparagement a disapproval of the deeds of our own departed councilors at a period when their untimely demise long since created incapacity to answer ungracious criticisms. Let him who is without error cast the

first shadow against their capability in life then none will be cast.' It is a part of the unwritten history of this Society that something more than a polite quarrel arose between Captain Russell Blakely and Mr. Warren Upham when the latter as Secretary of this Society undertook to modify, without permission to do so, the terms of the address delivered by Captain Blakely before this Executive Council, October 12, 1896, which was printed in Volume VIII. of our *Collections*, pages 303–418. That circumstance determined Mr. Upham's course in the preparation of his address delivered before the Council January 13, 1902, when he announced his unalterable opposition to Captain Blakely's published review of *Radisson's Narratives*, offering his own prejudiced opinions in exchange, while nursing real or imaginary wrongs.

The late Mr. Alfred J. Hill translated from the French those portions of Perrot's *Memoirs* which relate to the area of Minnesota. This Society in its Volume II., pages 200–214, published the valuable results of Mr. Hill's translation with interesting and instructive additional commentary. The Hill translation discloses how very uncertain must have been the legendary information which Perrot obtained from Siouan sources concerning the Huron-Dakota difficulty at Prairie Island about 1657. To obviate the embarrassment which that disclosure intervenes there is offered a new translation to supercede the one made by Mr. Hill (page 90, this *Memoir*), against the adoption of which I enter an unprejudiced but firm and unalterable disapproval. Let Mr. Hill's translation remain first, without supercedure. To close this unfortunate reference to the work of those who have passed beyond, it may be stated that Mr. Hill died June 14, 1895. Captain Blakely's death occurred at St. Paul, February 4, 1901.

12. Benjamin Sulte has preceded Mr. Upham in published articles in Minnesota concerning Radisson's discoveries within our area as a state. He is competent to defend the results of his labor which are not mentioned in the foregoing essay. In some respects the published results of the two writers are not wholly dissimilar. If any of the statements made by Mr. Upham are in any manner based on Mr. Sulte's published articles, opportunity for acknowledgment can precede the publication of the entire address when it may be made. While preparing

this *Memoir* I have been materially aided by the scholarly advices of Mr. Sulte, which are duly acknowledged.

I must be excused from proceeding with this review to a conclusion at this time. Enough has been stated to indicate that personal opinions unsupported by facts do not constitute substantial history. That is all I care to show at this time to enforce my purpose in compelling accuracy in the preparation of Minnesota history so far as I am able to do so.

I append brief descriptions of published articles by Minnesota authors on the Radisson and Chouart discovery of the area of Minnesota, all of whom have preceded Mr. Upham in various considerations of that question without entire unanimity:

Neill, Rev. Edward D. In *History of Minnesota*, variously, in several editions. Also translation of a letter from Medard Chouart, page 152, *Macalester College Contributions*.

Winchell, Prof. N. H. In Volume I., *Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota*, 1884, page 3.

Kirk, Prof. T. H. In *Illustrated History of Minnesota*, 1887, page 26.

Hill, Alfred J. Associated with Brower in the preparation of Volume VII., Minnesota Historical Collections, entitled *The Mississippi River and its Source*, 1893, page 47.

Brower, J. V. Variously, in the same book, while associated with Hill. Also in *Kathio* and several other *Memoirs*, between 1889 and 1903, as results of continuous studies.

Blakely, Captain Russell. In an address delivered before the Minnesota Historical Society, entitled *History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota*, October 12, 1896, page 303, Volume VIII., *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1898.

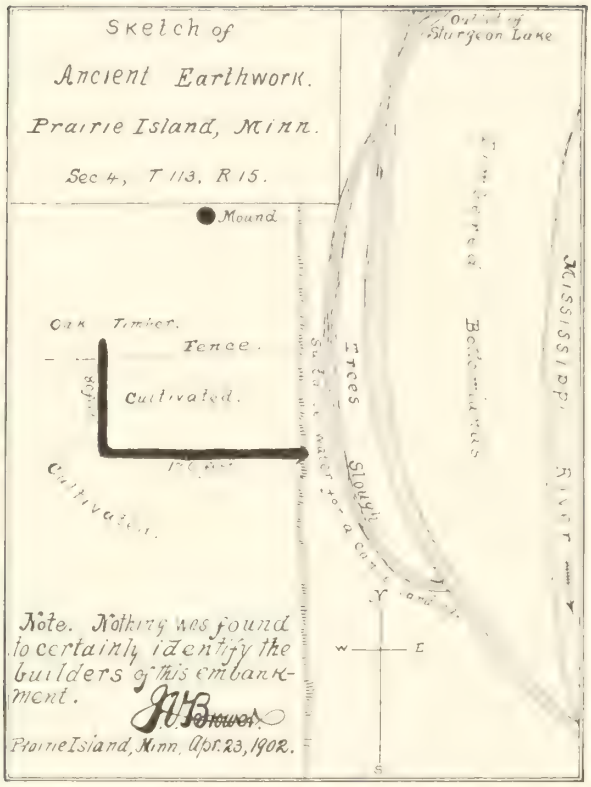
Baker, General James H. An address, entitled *History of Transportation in Minnesota*, delivered before this Society, January 10, 1898, and published in Volume IX., *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1901, page 1.

Flandreau, Judge Charles E. In *The History of Minnesota and Tales of the Frontier*, 1900, page 3.

The last paper prepared by a Minnesota writer is as follows:

Upham, Warren. An unpublished address before the Minnesota Historical Society January 13, 1902, abstract of which is printed herein and reviewed.

The last named writer strenuously insists that it is his intention to enforce the terms of his paper as an accurate historical document which he proposes shall supercede all published articles concerning the original discovery of the area of Minnesota by Radisson and Chouart.



ORIGINAL DRAFT, REDUCED.

No ancient village site or camping ground was discovered at or adjoining the sketched embankment. Oak trees are growing on the north end of the earthwork.

§ 7. MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCES.

Mr. George J. Remsburg, of Oak Mills, Kansas, has long been a capable and painstaking archæologic explorer in the Missouri Valley, giving much attention to Wyandotte and Kickapoo village sites and places of interment along the Missouri, incidentally gathering a large cabinet of archæologic objects. He has for many years studied the difficult problem of accurately tracing the Huron Indians from the Iroquois country westward to the Missouri. It was intended that the present *Memoir* should contain an account of the refugee Huron movements, but circumstances prevented a completion of that study, which I cheerfully leave to Mr. Remsburg with a desire that he co-operate with Mr. Benjamin Sulte in an endeavor to accurately trace those Indians in their flight westward.

This *Memoir*, similar to others of the series, is overwhelmed with the volume of contributions, hence, desirable archæologic references are almost wholly omitted to give place for a consideration of the question stated in the title. These *Memoirs* are intended to be held within the four-pound limit prescribed for mailable printed packages. On ivory paper, 128 pages, bound, cased and wrapped for mailing, with maps, reaches the limit in weight.

Heretofore it has been desirable to present at least brief references to explain the nomenclature of the region covered by the contents of any particular volume of this series. That rule has been considerably interfered with, and in a measure handicapped, by occurrences which are of insufficient interest to mention here, except that they are partly seated in encroachments upon space by contributors.

Mr. Joseph La Batte gave information concerning the origin of the name of Grey Cloud Island, noticed at page 43 of this volume, indicating that it was named after a Sioux chief. Colonel Robert I. Holcomb, at page 127, Volume IX., *Minnesota Historical Collections*, in a foot note says that the name is Mahkpia-hoto-win, a Sioux expression meaning Gray-cloud-woman, a noted Indian female who lived on that island many years ago as the wife of a trader named Anderson. When he died

she became the wife of Hazen P. Mooer, after whom Mooer Lake was named. However, it appears to be intimated that she was named after Maphpia-hoto, an ancient relative, who might have been a chief. The "win" for woman was added to her name to indicate feminine sex. That places Mr. La Batte, as one of the oldest natives of Minnesota, about correct in his knowledge of occurrences which took place before and soon after his birth.

Prairie Island was named Isle Pelée by the early French traders because it was treeless, or as some writers say, "bald." Being without timber at its upland portions, it is now called Prairie Island.

Barn Bluff was named by the French from its appearance at a distance down Lake Pepin. Approaching toward it up that lake it appears like a large barn at a distance of several miles.

Red Wing was named after a Dakota chief who resided at the site of the present city of that name, now the county seat of Goodhue County, Minnesota.

Goodhue County was named after the first editor who published a newspaper in Minnesota, *The Pioneer*, at St. Paul, in 1849.

The best descriptions of the origin of names at and near Lake Pepin were written by Mr. Alfred J. Hill and Dr. Elliott Coues in notes to Harper's edition of *Pike's Voyage up the Mississippi in 1804–6*, Volume I.

Dr. Sweney is in possession of information concerning all local names near Red Wing as they appear on his chart.

Many names along the Mississippi above La Crosse are derived from the Dakota language, such as Winona, Tipiota, Wabasha and Dakota counties, Maiden Rock and Canoe (Cannon) River. Lake Pepin, St. Croix River, Trempeleau, Trimbelle River and other names are derived from French sources. Diamond Bluff was named after an early settler among the Indians in A. D. 1800, near mouth of Trimbelle River, according to the late Honorable W. H. C. Folsom in *Fifty Years in the Northwest*. Lake City, Hastings, Prescott, Point Douglas and similar names are of recent American derivation. The nomenclature of the Prairie Island Region when placed under scrutiny will be found to be a conglomerated mass of Indian, French, Scandinavian and English names.

§ 8. CONCLUSIONS.

By J. V. BROWER.

To the Minnesota Historical Society.

Gentlemen:—The word discovery conveys to our senses a forcible description of an accomplished proceeding, based on an actual presence of the discoverer at the time and place described in accepted proofs, uncontaminated and untarnished by deception, falsehood, interpolations, suspicious circumstances or inadvertant and misleading additional information. We owe to posterity a carefully prepared, accepted history, based on actual occurrences. At the very beginning of this new century mere personal opinions should be strenuously eliminated from the basis upon which we install a foundation for the history of our progress, preparatory to desired acceptability at the centennial review which our individual successors as members of the Minnesota Historical Society will inaugurate in 1949.

By carefully guided steps a substantial conclusion has been established that the "Balm of Gilead" at a land of plenty by the shores of Lake Superior shall not illegitimately supplant and supercede the beautiful truth represented by the "sky-tinted-water" of our prairie region, because a personal opinion did not and could not successfully ecclipse a substantial fact.

The legitimately established solution of that problem, which was based on opinion only, represents conservative conduct which can now be emulated by a refusal to permit an opinion wholly unsupported except by frivolous vagaries from becoming illegitimately installed as acceptable history.

There has been an endeavor to formulate this address on statements of fact which can be substantiated by acceptable conclusions in harmonious accord with known occurrences, instead of uncertainties.

It is highly proper that this Society should take prompt and effectual action to prevent publication in its *Collections* of any such baseless assumption as has been recently foisted upon an unsuspecting people

as a superestimate of all other conclusions in an attempt to untruthfully establish Radisson and Chouart as residents at Prairie Island over fourteen months from the early spring of 1655 until July, 1656, finding no Dakota Indians resident anywhere in that neighborhood, and then proceeding with about 500 Huron and Outaoua Indians in loaded canoes over 2,000 miles to Quebec in less time than one month; over eighty miles each day. History cannot be successfully prostituted by interpolated changes which are absurd and impossible to substantiate. It might be suggested that these references should be couched in less vigorous language with better results. Every effort to pervert and degrade Minnesota history, or any history, should be exposed in no uncertain or faltering words. That is the precedent established by this Society in protecting the sacred history of Itasca Lake. Any and every attempt to prevent any part of our historic record should be promptly denounced and exposed when friendly persuasions and admonitions are flippantly rejected and ignored. The promise is positively made that no page of any of these *Memoirs* shall ever again be subservient to the personal purposes of any designing individual.

At the close of this thankless duty, I now beg to submit a statement of facts concerning the earliest discovery of the area of Minnesota, as they are at present understood by conservative students.

Two distinguished Spanish officers commanding separate armies were the first of Europeans to approach toward and learn of the existence of the area of Minnesota.

Francisco Vasquez Coronado with about thirty of his officers and men arrived at the end of Quivira and saw the people of Harahey at McDowell Creek, Kansas Valley, in July, 1541. The Wichitas and Pawnees, then known respectively as the people of Quivira and Harahey, were the enemies of the Dakota bands. Red Pipestone, found in moderate abundance at Harahey, now preserved in my museum collection, and somewhat obscure references by Coronado's chroniclers to the land beyond Harahey of which they inquired, indicates the date and manner when and how the area of Minnesota was first definitely heard of by civilized man. Coronado in 1541 was in actual contact with people who had visited the Red Pipestone quarries in Minnesota by way of Blue River

Valley, Platte River and the Missouri, evidenced by the fact that they knew and described the region beyond them, possessed pipestone from that locality, and were at war with its people. Thus we have an actual historically preserved reference to the region of Minnesota not quite forty-nine years after the landing of Columbus. Earlier Spanish references are less satisfactory.

More remotely distant was gained a knowledge by the forces of Hernando de Soto concerning the area of Minnesota, the same year, for they were far down the Mississippi in contact with people who seldom if ever came northward. The statement recently made that the Mississippi was discovered in 1498 by Vespucci is absolutely false. The origin of that page of deplorable errors, which has been offered for acceptance as history and universally rejected for the very excellent reason that it is not true, rests upon a basis of unsupported opinion. It can be proved that Vespucci was at his place of business in Seville, Spain, continually from May, 1497, to a late date in 1498 (*Critical History of America*, Volume II., pages 137, 142). The ambiguity of the Vespucci papers have caused great doubt because there are no satisfactory contemporaneous proofs to sustain the claim that he sailed past the delta of the Mississippi. Hernando de Soto was the original discoverer of the Mississippi above its delta and beyond Pontchartrain, where it was "Escondido" and "Palisado" in early Spanish times, owing to its hidden and unnavigable condition caused by swamps and floating deadwood, which obscured its position from view and obstructed its channel.

On the tenth day of February, 1890, at this Council Chamber, my report as a Commissioner of this Society was duly made, detailing the results of a survey of the Itasca Basin for the Society. That report, adopted as Volume VII. of the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, carefully and judiciously prepared, with subsequent additional compilations, exploit with careful precision a conservatively prepared history of the movements of each expedition of white men, who very early approached toward the area of Minnesota or crossed its present boundaries into its interior. At page 17 of that volume it is shown conclusively that Pineda did not discover the Mississippi in 1519, immediately following which in the same book is described the fate at sea of Panfilo de

Narvaez, who never even entered one of the mouths of that river, while Vaca, his treasurer, saved himself on the Texas coast. All those historically recorded facts leave Hernando de Soto the actual and only true original discoverer of the Mississippi on Sunday, May 8, 1541, when it was named Rio Grande. The navigation of the river by Moscoso after Soto died, in brigantines, between Aminoya and the Gulf of Mexico, July 2–19, 1543, completed the actual and original discovery of the Mississippi. No writer of the present time can tamper with that established history for personal ends, without meeting protest and merited exposure.

After the Spaniards had utterly failed to proceed forward from Quivira, or the Chickasaw Bluffs, to a successful occupancy of the upper portion of the Basin of the Mississippi, New France came into existence as a result of remarkable progress westward from the Atlantic coast. To that period of progress, Minnesota owes its tribute for an original discovery of its beautiful region by Frenchmen. A concise detailed history of that discovery in every acceptable particular was stated in my report to this Society as published in its Volume VII. That report remained as a standard publication throughout the civilized world, until its stability was covertly attacked by an attempt to substitute personal and erroneous opinions for accepted and adopted conservative history concerning the original discovery of our commonwealth. How very unbecoming and abhorrent it is to have forced upon us a voluminous theory, fixing new dates and impossible places when and where Minnesota has been declared to have been originally discovered, contrary to established and invincible facts. The unsupported opinion of one individual cannot and shall not supercede and supplant all the old and standard historical accounts of the earliest explorers. We are slow to realize how very closely the substantial history of Minnesota has been wantonly precipitated against a danger-line which would degrade this Society and its work in the presence of just men, that personal ends and individual ambition may be appeased at the expense of our respectability and usefulness. It can never come to pass that a painting shall decorate our beautiful Capitol building which perpetuates a falsehood as superior to truth. Much more appropriate and dignified would be the perpetua-

tion of the historic scene where Radisson and Chouart met the Dakotas in council at the fort they constructed at the headwaters of St. Croix River when they distributed iron knives, resulting in the permanently established name—Isanti, for the Knife or Eastern Sioux. I therefore propose the preparation of intramural paintings for the dome of our marble Capitol of truthful and important occurrences to represent great facts in our history, as follows:

Peter Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouart distributing iron knives to the Dakota nation at their wooden fort on the Knife Sioux Trail.

The great aboriginal battle of Kathio, resulting in the forcible retirement of the Knife Sioux from the area of Northern Minnesota.

Alexander Ramsey at Traverse des Sioux converting an empire from native savages to the uses of civilization, where 500,000 pupils are subjects for public education and where a world is benefitted by the progress of a people who dwell at a land of milk, honey and plenty.

Hennepin discovering St. Anthony Falls.

These forcible statements are made because Radisson and Chouart did not originally discover the area of Minnesota at Prairie Island, nor was that island their "First landing Isle." Medard Chouart never saw Prairie Island, and the imagination must be unduly extended to substantiate any guess that Radisson ever passed its secluded border. It is at the extremity of patience to repeat here by dates, with additional information, a history which was presented before this Society February 10, 1890, sufficiently describing the original discovery of this state so far as we have secured publication of original documents:

1535. Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga.

1541. Soto made original discovery of the Lower Mississippi. Coronado discovered Kansas Valley and heard of the area of Minnesota.

1603. Champlain arrived in Canada, established Quebec in 1608, visited the Hurons in 1615, and in 1632 he published a map showing the *Saut* and eastern end of Lake Superior.

1622. Etienne Brule carried to Canada specimens of copper from Lake Superior.

1634. Jean Nicolet discovered Green Bay, the area of Wisconsin, reported the existence of Naduesiu (Sioux), Assinipour (Assiniboine)

and other nations in the Great Northwest, as has been conclusively shown by the Wisconsin Historical Society in an admirable and commendable avoidance of error.

1641. Father Raymbault and Jogues visited the outlet of Lake Superior and heard of the Dakotas eighteen days farther west through a great lake (Superior), and up a river where their towns were well defended as a result of the Ho-ha war.

1644? Medard Chouart made his first western voyage to the Huron nation.

1654. Governor Jean de Lauzon sent two of his servants to Green Bay. Their menial calling prevented the mention of their names in the Jesuit *Relations*.

1656. Governor de Lauzon's nameless servants return from Green Bay to Quebec with many Indians.

1654-55-56. Radisson and Chouart were absent from Three Rivers most of this period of time, and their whereabouts cannot be satisfactorily accounted for, in the absence of any proof to show that they were the two servants of Governor de Lauzon, except that Radisson arrived from France and disappeared.

1657. Medard Chouart returns to Three Rivers from Lake Huron. Radisson with other Frenchmen went to Onondaga.

1658. Radisson left Onondaga and arrived at Three Rivers, where he met Chouart. In June they embarked together for the west, which was Radisson's first visit to or beyond Lake Huron, unless it can be shown by documentary evidences that he was one of the servants of Governor de Lauzon in 1654. They arrived at Manitoualine Island (Sulte, page 78, this *Memoir*), and proceeded to Green Bay, where they went into winter quarters. Their subsequent movements on this voyage are problematic and conjectural, a condition which has caused many opinions to be offered as various and conflicting solutions. It has been conclusively shown that personal opinions when urged as decisive terminations make unreliable pages of history. My opinion will be expressed, but not as a decisive historical solution of the present deplorable condition of disputed inequalities.

1659-60-61-62. Owing to falsehoods which appear in the printed *Voyages* of Peter Esprit Radisson and many obscure and unexplained references and descriptions, great confusion has been caused in endeavors to formulate an acceptable historic record of the movements of Radisson and Chouart during their sojourn in the Northwest. In 1889–90, under my direction and supervision, Hill prepared a concise statement showing

how they discovered the area of Minnesota by way of the south shore of Lake Superior, pages 47–57, Volume VII., *Minnesota Historical Collections*. At pages 287 and 294 of that printed report, without my knowledge or consent, after the proof sheets were made to read "1659," the printers erroneously inserted "1665," which error I now correct.

The valuable published and manuscript data prepared as results of long continued studies by Benjamin Sulte, who has distinguished his career as a historian of early French occurrences in Canada, indicate a variance of dates and routes of travel described by Radisson when compared with the admirable historic writings of Mr. Henry Colin Campbell. The differing conclusions arrived at by those two writers admonishes me to proceed with caution as a safeguard against error, until some very necessary and missing documentary proofs are found. That is the reason why the four years above stated are consolidated, for at some date during those years Radisson and Chouart did certainly discover the area of Minnesota while passing from the south shore of Lake Superior to the Sioux villages in the Kathio Region. Radisson's well understood inclination to make the distances he traveled long, and the time occupied more extended than he actually spent, establishes a bad status for his book. His descriptions of the Pictured Rocks, Keewenaw Point, Chequamegon Bay and the Sioux Roadway over which he traveled from Lake Superior to Mille Lac is acceptable proof that he discovered the area of Minnesota at least from head branches of St. Croix River to Rice River and Mille Lac. He said (page 213, *Voyages*) that the Sioux invited them to visit their villages, "assuring us that ye mountains were elevated, ye valleys risen, the ways very smooth, the bows of trees cut down to go with more ease, and bridges [foot-logs?] erected over rivers for not to wett our feet." At page 217 is described the gift of knives and blades which afterward resulted in the formation of the new name for the Eastern Sioux—Isanti, Knife people. He also turned aside and went northward to a Sauteur-Assiniboine encampment, in an endeavor to compromise the Hoha war in the interest of the fur trade. They then left the fort where the iron knives were distributed to the Sioux, going with them to the Dakota villages in the Mille Lac Region. The road or old Sioux trail over which they traveled now seems surely to have been the one which in more recent times connected Crow Wing and Old Superior by way of the north shore of Mille Lac. In Radisson's time there were three important Sioux villages on or near that trail. They were permanently located at Bromley Lake, Malmo and Garrison Creek. We turn now to Hennepin's printed record and map, which corroborates Radisson's statements concerning the location of the Sioux settlements found there in 1680. There is also definite corroborative information archæologically recorded by me in *Mille Lac* and *Kathio*, Volumes III. and IV. of these *Memoirs*

By these acceptable data, concerning which there can be no doubt whatever, the conclusion is reached that Radisson and Chouart discovered the area of Minnesota while conciling with Dakota Indians near the west

end of Lake Superior, while proceeding from there in the winter of 1659–60 (?) along the Sioux trail from that lake to Mille Lac where they remained as guests of the Dakota nation about six weeks.

I am not averse to offering here my own personal views and opinions concerning the complicated questions discussed in this volume, not, however, without a distinct declaration that they are merely suggestions, with no desire or deplorable insistence that they shall be accepted and adopted, unless they can be finally proved as correct by indisputable evidence.

The use of the results of the studies of Sulte and Campbell are first acknowledged as of great value and assistance, materially supplementing my own studies with Hill. There are known facts that show original discovery of Lake Superior long before Radisson came to America. I believe that the area of Minnesota about the west end of that lake was visited by Frenchmen ten or even fifteen years before that explorer went west from Lake Huron. The proofs for acceptable history on such a proposition must rest in unknown obscurity until diligent researches shall bring to light in the future better knowledge than we at present enjoy. Until more extended inquiry has been made, it is best to suspend final action to await future developments. Among the papers which should be examined attentively to enhance our knowledge of our own earliest state history there may be mentioned here the private and official documents of Governor Jean de Lauzon, the records of the Hundred Associates, the earlier data concerning the original formation of the Hudson Bay Company and correspondence at the Vatican in Rome relating Catholic information about western explorations in New France. When such an inquiry shall have been made it seems possible that many errors may be successfully eliminated from the present deplorable status of the first pages of history which describe Minnesota and its area.

Now as to the western explorations of Radisson and Chouart. It seems to me to be the better course to make all due allowance for Radisson's known and proved prevarications and unreliability. It must also be distinctly shown that he was or was not Governor de Lauzon's

servant in 1654 No guess on that question can be accepted as history. Selecting out the most probable truths in Radisson's *Voyages*, supported by contemporaneous incidents, from the conglomerated mass of intermixed falsehoods and facts contained in his book, it is the safer course to suspend final action until all the facts are known, in the meantime cautiously believing it probable that he and Chouart went to the first landing isle at Green Bay in 1658 and thence to the region about the outlet of Lake Superior, from whence they made a snowshoe voyage westward to Ontonagon River or possibly Presque Isle River, near Kionkonan, where they built canoes and went up that river eight days to the Scratcher Nation, portaging into Menominee River, and then south down that river to the first landing isle, where they "weare well received againe." From there they went northward on their way to Canada with many canoes loaded with fur. Returning to Lake Superior in 1659 they coasted the south shore to Chequamegon, went overland westward, met the Dakota people near the eastern border of Minnesota and proceeded to the Mille Lac Region along the Sioux trail, where they were guests for six weeks during the winter of 1660, securing many beaver skins, which they transported to Canada the same year. They heard of the Mississippi as Forked River and they may have seen that stream, as several of the Sioux villages were located at Osakis Lake and other places west of the Mississippi.

I now name that old Indian roadway—The Knife Sioux Trail.

For many years I have been laboring upon the *Ethnologic History of Minnesota*. The material for that book is in an advanced stage of completion. When it is offered for final publication the hope is now expressed that therein may be definitely stated the time, place and date of the original discovery of the area of Minnesota, that the present deplorable conflictions may be ameliorated.

Radisson has been honored in Wisconsin by the Northwestern Railroad Company attaching his name to one of its stations. In Minnesota his name was perpetuated by my report to this Society in 1889, when a lake at Itasca State Park was named in his honor, and also one after Chouart.

INDEX.

Introductory Note.—*Passim* in this *Memoir* and omitted from this index are the names—Minnesota, Prairie Island, Mississippi River, Peter Esprit Radisson, Medard Chouart, Indians, and all tribal names of Indian nations or bands. A premeditated poverty of this index occurs at the Sulte studies, pages 74–84, on account of voluminous French names, and at the Upham studies, beginning at page 86, on account of objection to erroneous opinions offered as history and rejected.

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